

Herodotus – narrator, scientist, historian

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

Edited by

Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos

Associate Editors

Evangelos Karakasis · Fausto Montana · Lara Pagani
Serena Perrone · Evina Sistikou · Christos Tsagalis

Scientific Committee

Alberto Bernabé · Margarethe Billerbeck
Claude Calame · Jonas Grethlein · Philip R. Hardie
Stephen J. Harrison · Richard Hunter · Christina Kraus
Giuseppe Mastromarco · Gregory Nagy
Theodore D. Papanghelis · Giusto Picone
Tim Whitmarsh · Bernhard Zimmermann

Volume 59

Herodotus – narrator, scientist, historian

Edited by
Ewen Bowie

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-058153-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-058355-7

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-058210-9

ISSN 1868-4785

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Editorial Office: Alessia Ferreccio and Katerina Zianna

Logo: Christopher Schneider, Laufen

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Preface

This volume assembles the written versions of papers which their authors were invited to deliver at a conference at the European Cultural Centre of Delphi planned for 3 – 6 July 2015. The outcomes of the referendum called by the Prime Minister of Greece in late June included the temporary closure of banks and the imposition of capital controls, and the Director of the European Cultural Centre cancelled the conference four days before it was due to start. Those who had been asked in March 2015 to organise it at very short notice were not consulted on whether cancellation was necessary, and it will be for future historians to decide whether prudence or irrational panic prevailed. Despite the frustration, inconvenience and in some cases financial loss incurred by the Greek and international scholars who had accepted the invitation to participate, almost all have agreed to offer their papers for this volume, which is hoped to be a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ more than compensating for the loss of the ἀγωνίσματα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν. One or two were, understandably, not in a position to do so, and an extra paper has been solicited from a distinguished scholar who had been invited but had a prior commitment for early July.

The book's focus remains that of the projected conference: *Herodotus: narrator scientist historian*. Its papers explore, from different angles and employing different but complementary methodologies, how one of our greatest writers of Greek prose enlisted for his project techniques of investigation and modes of explanation current in the contemporary intellectual world, where both were being developed in geographical and medical writing, in other departments of what we would call 'natural science', and in rhetoric and related discussions of literature and language; how he works in different ways with non-Greek (especially Egyptian) traditions and with elements in Greeks' accounts of their past that we would classify as 'myths' or 'folk tales'; and how in his presentation (ἀπόδεξις) of the results of his enquiry (ιστορίη) he emerges as a brilliant narrator as well as thoughtful and provocative analyst of events and objects, often using the latter to mould readers' assessments of the former. That combination of investigation, analysis, explanation and artistic presentation in superbly crafted prose gave birth to the first work to bring together the qualities that have ever since been seen as essential to 'history'. The papers have been arranged under the very broad categories 'Narrator', 'Scientist' and 'Historian'. But few could not have been put in a different category, and many, like Herodotus himself, straddle all three.

To his huge and diverse masterpiece Herodotus attached a preface of only forty words. Like that preface, these paragraphs do not offer a pedestrian digest

of what will follow but invite curious readers to set out on a journey of stimuli and illumination.

Ewen Bowie
Mykonos August 2017

Contents

I. Narrator

John Marincola

Ὅμηρικώτατος? Battle Narratives in Herodotus — 3

Angus Bowie

Herodotus the story-teller — 25

K. Scarlett Kingsley

Justifying Violence in Herodotus' *Histories* 3.38: *Nomos*, King of All, and Pindaric Poetics — 37

P. J. Finglass

Sophocles' Oedipus and Herodotus' Periander — 59

Ioannis M. Konstantakos

Time, Thy Pyramids: The *Novella* of Mycerinus (Herodotus 2.129–134) — 77

Gregory Nagy

Herodotus on queens and courtesans of Egypt — 109

II. Scientist

Vasiliki Zali

Herodotus mapping out his genre: the interaction of myth and geography in the Libyan logos — 125

Reinhold Bichler

Herodotus the geographer — 139

Nikolay P. Grintser

Herodotus as a literary critic — 157

Paul Demont

Herodotus on Health and Disease — 175

III. Historian

Christopher Pelling

Causes in competition: Herodotus and Hippocratics — 199

Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi

ἱστορέειν and θωμάζειν: scientific terms and signs of unity in Herodotus' *Histories* — 223

Maria G. Xanthou

Χρυσός, χρόνος, and κλέος: objects of gold, cognition, ambiguity, and authority in Herodotus' Lydian *logos* — 243

Rosalind Thomas

Truth and authority in Herodotus' narrative: false stories and true stories — 265

List of Contributors — 285

Bibliography — 289

Index locorum — 317

Index of names and subjects — 334

I. Narrator

John Marincola

Ὅμηρικώτατος? Battle Narratives in Herodotus

1

It was a truism of ancient criticism, as it is of modern, that Herodotus was the historian most like Homer: the author of *On the Sublime* calls him Ὅμηρικώτατος and the by now well-known inscription from Halicarnassus calls him ‘the prose Homer of history’.¹ No ancient critic says specifically what elements made Herodotus ‘most Homeric’ but it is reasonable to conclude that it was both style and subject matter: Herodotus treated a great war between east and west, just as Homer had; he invested his work with speeches and councils, described great battles, and portrayed the Greek victory in a panegyric spirit, one which endowed the characters in his history with glory, *kleos*.² There were other similarities as well: to name but two, the search for causes (who was *aitios* for the great conflict between Greeks and barbarians) and the sense of the war as vengeance for an original wrong. Scholars have, moreover, detected numerous Homeric echoes and allusions throughout Herodotus’ work, including in his battle narratives: the calling for fire as the Athenians make for the ships of the Persians or the struggle over the corpse of Leonidas at Thermopylae are but two of the best known.³

Homer, of course, was a poet of war, and although he was not only a poet of war, battles are a ubiquitous feature of the *Iliad* and occupy a large part of it, some 5500 lines, a third of the poem. Battles are correspondingly an important part of Herodotus’ narrative, mentioned in every Book beginning with the first, sometimes noted only in passing or with a few sentences, sometimes fully written

1 [Long.] *Subl.* 13.3; *SEG* XLVIII 1330 (= *SGO* I, 01/12/02), line 43: Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον.

2 Cf. Russell 1964, 115: ‘the judgement may just as well be based, say, on Herodotus’ battle-scenes and heroic temper, his methods of narrative and digression, his frequent use of direct speech, his dialect ..., or his rhythms.’ Pelling 2006b, 77 points out that what ancients may have thought of as ‘Homeric’ is not necessarily what we ourselves think of.

3 For Homeric influence on Herodotus, see Huber 1965; Fornara 1983, 31–2, 62–3, 76–7, 171–2; Strasburger 1972; Woodman 1988, 26–38; Erbse 1992, 122–32; Pelling 2006b; Marincola 2006, 14–16 and 2007a; Rutherford 2012. For Homeric influence specifically on the way death is depicted in Herodotus, see Boedeker 2003.

up as independent and dramatic narratives of their own. There seems little doubt, moreover, that the climax of Herodotus' work was meant to be the sequence of great Persian-War battles, beginning with Marathon and concluding with Mycale.⁴

There have been numerous studies of the formulaic nature of Homeric battle descriptions, with their scenes of arming, single combats, struggles over corpses, and similar manners of death.⁵ Although it would be an exaggeration to speak of Herodotean formulae, it is nevertheless undeniable that patterning is an important part of the way Herodotus structures his work and integrates the particularity of historical events into the universality of the lessons to be learnt from the past. Such patterning has been clear at least since Immerwahr's great book on Herodotus, with its careful analysis both of the structures of individual scenes and the larger sections of the work.⁶ One of the most visible manifestations of Herodotus' patterning is the macrocosmic pattern of Persian aggression, whereby each individual king is successful in his conquests until he reaches a distant (and more primitive) people, at which point expansion ceases: Cyrus is stopped by the Massagetae to the east, Cambyses by the Ethiopians to the south, Darius by the Scythians in the north, and finally Xerxes by the Greeks to the west. But this is just one example: there are plenty of others.

The present study may be seen as a complement to Immerwahr's work, focusing on issues that he did not treat or treated only briefly. For the purposes of this paper, it will be necessary to limit ourselves to just the four great battles – Marathon,⁷ Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea – leaving out the Ionian Revolt, the battle at the Artemisium, and the final battle of Mycale. Also, given constraints of space, it will also be more effective, I think, to treat the thematic elements of the various battles synchronically rather than go through each of the battles diachronically.⁸

4 Immerwahr 1966, 238; on Marathon, see below, n. 7.

5 See Albracht 1895; Jordan 1905; Winter 1956; Hainsworth 1966; Fenik 1968; Latacz 1977; Hellmann 2000; Friedrich 1956/2003; Mueller 2009, 76–101; *id.* 2011.

6 Immerwahr 1966, 238: 'Since history is to Herodotus primarily the history of action, the battle descriptions stand necessarily at the spiritual center of his work.'

7 Here I must dissent from Immerwahr 1966, 248, who sees Marathon as separate from the great battles of the 480s. Although no one would deny that the treatment of Marathon is much briefer than the battles of 480/79, Herodotus nonetheless, as we shall see, uses the same elements as in his accounts of the later battles, something that comes out clearly in my Appendix.

8 I need hardly add, of course, that this brief treatment is not meant to be comprehensive. A full study of Herodotean battle-narratives remains a desideratum.

It goes without saying that when I speak of Herodotus' battle narratives I am not speaking about only the fighting itself. Indeed, one of the greatest differences between Herodotus and Homer is that whereas the poet dwells on the details of battle and death, Herodotus spends very little time on this particular aspect, and the actual descriptions of the fighting tend to be amongst the thinnest parts of his history; this already suggests a certain distancing from Homer.⁹ By contrast, a great deal of narrative time and space is expended on what happens before and after the fighting. So I am considering a battle-narrative here to comprise the following: (1) the lead-up to the fighting; (2) the fighting itself; and (3) the aftermath of the fighting.¹⁰ In examining these 'extended' battle-narratives, I shall focus on six recurring elements (the fighting itself and five others), which serve in some way to structure the narratives and to integrate the various battles more closely into certain kinds of patterns.

2

The first recurring element is Herodotus' use of preliminary omens and signs.¹¹ For each of the four great battles, Herodotus narrates incidents which have something of the divine about them. Before any of the battles and as prelude, so to speak, to the Persian War battles *in toto*, Herodotus notes the occurrence of an earthquake on Delos as the Persian fleet is making for Greece, and he claims that this was its only earthquake before or since, following this with the observation that this event was somehow appropriate since the Greeks suffered more evils in the time of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes than in all previous eras (6.98.1).¹² With that ominous generalising opening – an opening that extends, of course, into Herodotus' own present – the narrator creates a sense of foreboding concerning what is to follow.

⁹ But cf. Foster 2012a, 185, who argues that Herodotus' battle narratives also offer 'essential descriptions of geography, topography, and natural conditions, and depict the political, social, and military strengths and weaknesses of combatants.' If I do not treat these, it is simply because I am trying to call attention to certain kinds of other patterns in Herodotus' work.

¹⁰ It is not always easy, of course, to say where the lead-up to a battle begins, but I hope that my delineation of each of these in what follows will not be thought entirely arbitrary.

¹¹ On Herodotus' interest in the divine and the role it plays in his history, see Gould 1989, 67–76; Harrison 2000; Scullion 2006; Mikalson 2003; on oracles, see Crahay 1956. Rutherford 2001, 48 concludes that prophecy was 'a standard and expected feature of poems describing battles'.

¹² Thuc. 2.8.3 makes the same claim, of course; cf. Rusten 2013 for recent discussion.

Before Marathon itself there are two incidents that serve in some measure as preliminary omens and signs. The first is Pheidippides' run-in with Pan, the other Hippias' dream and lost tooth. In the former, of course, the god tells Pheidippides that he, Pan, had been useful to the Athenians before and would be so again, and Herodotus mentions here the shrine built for Pan after the Persian invasions (6.105). There is much more about Pan in the later tradition,¹³ but for Herodotus' narrative the mention of Pheidippides' encounter with the god is sufficient. It is often noted that Herodotus' treatment of the divine is usually hedged with caution, as it is here, where the story is ascribed to Pheidippides himself,¹⁴ and Herodotus makes no explicit claims for its truthfulness. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that Herodotus therefore does not believe that the divine is at work, or at the very least that he does not want his audience to recognise and acknowledge the role of the divine in the Greek victory over Persia. If that had been the case, it would have been easy to write a history like that of Thucydides in which most of this sort of material was suppressed.

The other incident is the story of Hippias' dream (6.107–8). This follows on immediately from Pheidippides' embassy to Sparta, and contains a favourite motif in dream or oracle stories, especially in Herodotus, namely, an initial incorrect interpretation, followed by eventual recognition of the truth.¹⁵ Hippias thinks that sleeping with his mother indicates that he will regain his power and die peacefully in Attica, but the expulsion of his tooth the next day, Herodotus says, brings the meaning of the dream home to him: he is not to conquer Attica now or ever again (6.108.4). So both here and in the Pan story, Herodotus already indicates in some ways the outcome of the battle: the divine will be present, and Hippias will not prevail.

Before Thermopylae there are three notable incidents, one human, two divine. In the first, the observation made by the Persian spy of the Spartans' elaborate tending of their hair is explained by Demaratus to Xerxes as the indication that the Spartans are preparing to risk their lives (7.208–210). That, of course, does not portend the outcome of the battle, but it does function as a prophecy of sorts, indicating how the Spartans will behave, and the truth of the 'prophecy' is confirmed by Xerxes after the battle when he says to Demaratus that 'everything has turned out as you said it would'.¹⁶ The more usual form of prophecy, originating from the divine, is left by Herodotus for the morning of the last day of the

¹³ See Nenci 1998, 267–8.

¹⁴ 6.105.1: ὡς αὐτὸς ... ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης.

¹⁵ On the pattern, Harrison 2000, 149–52.

¹⁶ 7.234.1: ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω.

battle when a series of events, human and divine, conspire to foretell the Spartans' destruction: first is the observation of the seer Megistias who reads the doom to come in the sacrifices, and this is juxtaposed with the reports that the Spartans receive from deserters and lookouts who confirm that they are surrounded (7.219.1). But it is in Leonidas' decisions that Herodotus foregrounds the overarching influence of the divine: attempting to explain Leonidas' motives for dismissing the other contingents while himself remaining at his post to face certain death, Herodotus recalls and then quotes an oracle that the Spartans had earlier received, to the effect that either their city must be laid waste or a Spartan king killed, and he then offers this, together with the desire for unmatchable glory, as the motives which induced Leonidas to keep his men there (7.220–221).¹⁷ Once again, as with Marathon, the outcome of the battle is already hinted at: just as Hippias was not to prevail, so neither are the Spartans to be successful in the coming battle, although they will fight to the death. It is noteworthy as well that this analepsis concerning the Spartans' reception of the oracle has the effect of making the divine present just at the moment when the fighting is about to be narrated.

For Salamis, we have the famous disappearance of the snake on the Acropolis, which is seen as the indication of divine abandonment of the city (8.41); this portends ill, but is balanced by the report of the new shoot of sacred olive which is seen the day after the Persian burning of the Acropolis (8.55). There is also the earthquake at dawn on the morning after the council's decision to stay and fight, and with it the summoning of the Aeacidae (8.64), incidents which in turn are immediately followed by the story of Dicaeus and Demaratus on the plain of Thria, where Dicaeus recognises the divine aid that is making its way to Salamis, and Demaratus bids him to keep the information to himself, saying that what follows will be the concern of the gods (8.65). All this contributes to the audience's sense that (as with Marathon) divine support is present and strongly on the Greek side.

With Plataea there are again several indicatory signs and omens. The clearest exposition comes early on, with the banquet at Thebes and the unnamed Persian's lament that although destruction is coming for the Persians, any warnings about it would be unheeded (9.16).¹⁸ Long narratives that expound the life stories of the two seers of the armies, Teisamenus and Hegesistratus, conclude with both

¹⁷ On this passage, see Vannicelli/Corcella 2017, 571.

¹⁸ As with Pheidippides before Marathon, Herodotus here ascribes this prophetic story to a named source: ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον (9.16.5).

seers giving similar prophecies: favourable if defence is maintained, unfavourable if one attacks (9.36–37). Before the fighting itself Herodotus also quotes lines from Bacis that mention the gathering of forces by the Asopus and the ‘day of doom’ when ‘many Medes shall fall’ (9.43.1–2). And – although this one straddles the border between the preliminaries to the fighting and the fighting itself – there is Pausanias’ imploring look towards the sanctuary of the goddess Hera and his prayer to her, after which the omens immediately become favourable (9.61.3). Also important here is Herodotus’ remark at the very commencement of the battle where he states that Pausanias at Plataea won ‘the fairest victory of all those we know’, because he was the agent through whom Mardonius ‘rendered satisfaction to the Spartans for the killing of Leonidas’ (9.64.1). To see the full significance of this, one needs to connect this passage with the ‘prophecy’ received earlier by the Spartans in Book 8 when they demanded recompense for the killing of Leonidas, and the King in jest pointed to Mardonius and said that *he* would supply restitution (8.114.1).¹⁹

3

A second element that features in the battle narratives, not surprisingly, is the communication of strategy. Herodotus is not particularly regarded for his military sense, and his clearest overall analysis of the military situation is found not within a battle narrative but in the remarks at 7.139, his famous defence of Athens as the saviour of Greece, a passage that occurs when he is discussing which Greek states took the Persian side and which did not. Rather than engage in such analysis thereafter, or offer in abstract language an examination of the situation, Herodotus prefers that any strategy be communicated to the audience in a dramatic setting, in the exchange of information by the characters themselves. This can come either in the formal councils that occur from time to time in the narrative or in more dramatic vignettes close to the battle itself where encouragement and motivation are needed.²⁰ Before three of the four battles it is necessary for an ad-

¹⁹ Bowie 2007, 207–8 explains the nature of this chance prophecy. On Plataea as vengeance for Thermopylae, see Asheri 1998.

²⁰ See Hainsworth 1966, 161 for the distinction in Homer between formal councils and dramatic speech. It is perhaps worth noting that in Herodotus’ accounts of these four battles speeches of exhortation to the soldiers are mentioned only for Salamis, and even there Herodotus simply summarises in indirect discourse Themistocles’ remarks to the marines (8.83.1–2). On the

visor to persuade another person, one who is crucial to the success of the enterprise, of the correctness of the strategy. At Marathon Miltiades visits the polemarch Callimachus and explains to him why an immediate attack is necessary before the ‘rot’ sets in and the Athenians are betrayed to the Persians (6.109.3–6). At Salamis, Mnesiphilus goes to Themistocles and expresses alarm at the current strategy, explaining that the Greeks’ only hope is to fight in the narrows off Salamis (8.57), after which, of course, Themistocles goes to persuade the others of this (8.58). Before Plataea, Chileus of Tegea must explain to the Spartans why a wall across the Isthmus is of no use, and why they should therefore with all speed send their troops to Boeotia lest the Athenians be forced to capitulate and thus open the way for the Persians to come into the Peloponnese (9.9). The only exception to this pattern is Thermopylae, and it may not be a coincidence that this was a defeat. For Thermopylae, Herodotus gives the strategy in his own voice: ‘it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and at the same time nearer home’ (7.175.1) and ‘communication would be easier between the two places’ (7.175.2). Herodotus also mentions that only an advance force was sent to Thermopylae but that no one expected the battles to occur so soon (7.206). In any case, the dramatic moment, when an individual explains the proper path to victory, is not employed for this battle. It seems that only a strategy which is connected to a Greek victory is deemed suitable for employing the dramatic mode.

4

A third element, closely connected with the previous, is emphasising the importance of the battle, and this is done by (again) having one character explain to another (and thus to the audience) what is at stake. At Marathon, Miltiades utters portentous words to Callimachus: ‘It is now in your hands, Callimachus, either to enslave Athens or to make her free’,²¹ setting in stark relief the importance of Callimachus’ decision (and possibly as a way of highlighting indirectly Callimachus’ contribution).²² Miltiades also connects the achievement at

parakletikos logos as a characteristic feature of historiography after Herodotus, see Lendon 2017, 44, with references there.

²¹ 6.109.3: ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλεῦσαι Ἀθῆνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα, κτλ; cf. Pheidippides’ speech to the Spartans, 6.106.

²² Callimachus was, of course, portrayed on the painting of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 1.15).

Marathon with the nascent (and now endangered) Athenian democracy by linking Callimachus' action with the defining moment of Harmodius and Aristogeiton's assault on the tyrant.²³

Themistocles' words before Salamis echo those earlier ones of Miltiades to Callimachus but also magnify the stakes: following on from his education by Mnesiphilus, Themistocles speaks to Eurybiades before the assembled Greeks, and informs him and them that a victory at Salamis will ensure the safety of the Peloponnese; but he saves his dramatic force for Eurybiades when he says, 'It is now in your hands to save Hellas'.²⁴ There is, of course, much more tactical advice offered at Salamis than at Marathon, but even so that particular echo is not likely to be missed. Finally, at Plataea, it is given to Pausanias to highlight what is at stake in the upcoming battle: under attack by the Persians, he sends to the Athenians asking for assistance with the words, 'the great struggle is now upon us – the struggle which will determine the liberty or enslavement of Greece', liberty/enslavement recurring as at Marathon but now with Greece, not merely Athens, as its object.²⁵

The exception again is Thermopylae, and again the reason why is easy to see: as a defeat it could not have been portrayed in quite the same way. It is perhaps because of dissatisfaction with this that the later tradition, reluctant to see any Greek defeat in the conflict with Persia, managed to create a moral victory out of the defeat at Thermopylae.²⁶ For Herodotus, by contrast, the importance of Thermopylae is more localised and restricted, and, as he portrays it in his own narrator's voice, its importance looked to the more distant future: 'indeed by remaining at his post he [sc. Leonidas] left great glory behind him, and Sparta did not lose her prosperity, as might otherwise have happened' (7.220.2). Thermopylae also in this way guarantees freedom – the gods had indicated that either Leonidas must die or Sparta lose her hegemony (i.e., her freedom) – and so the importance of Leonidas' sacrifice, while circumscribed, is nonetheless asserted.

5

We come now to the fourth element, the actual fighting itself. In all of the major battles Herodotus moves back and forth between the large-scale and small-scale

23 6.108.3: οἷον οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, κτλ.

24 8.60a: ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

25 9.60.1: ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

26 See Marincola 2007b, 115–17.

view, sometimes employing the ‘high camera’, sometimes the ‘low’.²⁷ At the same time, we find a fairly wide range of approaches in length and subject-matter. Since much of the material surrounding the fighting is familiar, I shall be brief and selective.

At Marathon we are told that the struggle was ‘long drawn out’ (6.113.1), and this motif is a common one throughout Herodotus, not just in the Persian-War battles.²⁸ Yet the description of the battle itself is rather brief, noting the weakened Greek centre, the breakthrough of the Persians in the middle, the reuniting of the Plataean and Athenian wings, and their subsequent triumph (6.112–114). The chase to the sea, the call for fire, and the taking hold of the ships are told in a single sentence (6.113.2), after which Herodotus mentions three Athenians who died bravely in this phase of the battle: Callimachus, Stesilaus, and Cynegirus (6.114).²⁹

While Marathon is a victory briefly told, Thermopylae is a defeat fully – one might even say lovingly – narrated.³⁰ It is in the description of the fighting itself that this battle finally comes into its own, for although a defeat, the battle provides Herodotus with much material for heroic conflict. The first day’s battle continues until evening, Xerxes’ initial certainty growing weaker and weaker as successive waves of barbarians fail to defeat the Spartans: Medes and Cissians are replaced by the ‘Immortals’ but with no better success falling to the latter (7.210–211). A brief description of the Spartan method of fighting here, the employing of feints followed by wheeling around and facing the enemy, brings an end to the narrative of the first day’s fighting (7.211.3). On the second day, which is briefly treated, the Persians have no success again, although Herodotus notes that this

27 See Lendon 2017, 42: ‘The modern art of battle description consists particularly of the skilful mixing of shots from an imaginary camera hanging in the middle air that records the motions of the units whose fighting decides the battle – divisions, regiments, companies, platoons – and a lower-hanging camera that records the deeds of those individuals or small groups: enough shots from above to keep the reader oriented as to the general progress of the fighting, and to explain the result, but enough low camera following individual soldiers to provide human interest and prevent the account from becoming distant and abstract.’ Ancient battle-narratives, he further observes (50), use either a very high or very low camera, that is, either mass movements or the actions of individuals, but they never focus on companies, platoons, or the like. Erbse 1992, 127–130 notes that Herodotus imitates Homer both in his manner of narrating simultaneous events in different theatres and in the way that he varies the scene by employing different focalisations.

28 On this motif, Homeric in its origin, see Pelling 1997, 6 n. 18; cf. Lendon 2017, 61–62.

29 See Pelling 2013b, 9–10 for the clear Homeric echoes in this narrative.

30 On the structure of the Thermopylae episode, see Immerwahr 1966, 259–60; Pelling 2006b, 92–98 is particularly good on the Homeric resonances in the incidents surrounding Leonidas.

time each division of the allies took its turn in the fighting, whereas on the first day he had focused on the Spartans alone (7.212).

For the third day, when the Greeks recognise that they are surrounded and that the enemy will soon appear behind them, the focus is now all on the Spartans, Leonidas dismissing most of the other contingents (7.220.1). Knowing that they are going to their deaths, the Spartans move out into the wider part of the pass, and many barbarians fall, even as they are driven on with the lash by their company commanders; while the Greeks are depicted as fighting with fury and desperation, wielding their swords now as their spears had been broken (7.223.3–224.1). There is also the memorable struggle over the body of Leonidas, the Greeks driving the Persians from it four times before finally rescuing it (7.225.1). When the other troops finally arrive to surround the Spartans, they retreat again back to the little hill at the entrance of the pass, and here they resist with swords or hands or teeth until finally they are overwhelmed (7.225.2–3).

For Salamis, Herodotus changes tack yet again. Indeed, Herodotus could not have looked to Homer for this struggle, since it was a naval battle, a sort not treated in the *Iliad*.³¹ To begin with and in contrast with Aeschylus' account of a united Greek force moving with confidence into the fray, Herodotus begins by giving *three* different accounts of how the battle began, in two of which the Greeks are backing water (8.84.1–2). Rival claims here frustrate the ability of the historian to fashion a seamless narrative, the Athenians and Aeginetans both maintaining that they were the first to strike, and in addition a popular belief that a divine voice chastised *all* of the Greeks who were retreating (8.84.2).

The Athenians are now noted as facing the Phoenician ships, the Spartans those of the Ionians (8.85). Two Persians are mentioned (*ibid.*) as having captured Greek ships and been rewarded for this service (Herodotus says he could name many more). Herodotus then notes that the Athenian and Aeginetan ships worked together and that the Persians fought better than they had in the past because the King was watching them (8.86). But at this point he admits that he cannot speak accurately about the individual roles of the Greek and barbarian contingents in this battle, but even so, he must mention Artemisia, and he then details her adventures in a substantial narrative block (8.87–88).³² He subse-

³¹ On the absence of naval battles in Homer, see the interesting observations of Hornblower 2007, 48. For Salamis Herodotus had, of course, Aeschylus' *Persians*. That he knew this account seems extremely likely, but the differences suggest to me that he did not follow Aeschylus except in a very few places; for the argument that he followed him closely, see Parker 2007.

³² On the importance of Artemisia in Herodotus, see Munson 1988.

quently moves to casualties and to the story of the Phoenicians beheaded for criticising the Ionians (8.90.2–3). Aristides' actions on Psyttaleia (8.95) are then given brief notice.

With Plataea we come to the final battle in Greece proper. When the Persians cross the Asopus, they advance at a run, certain that they will destroy the Spartans and Tegeans easily (9.59.1–2). It is here that Pausanias sends his request for aid to the Athenians, who are prevented by the Greek troops who had Medised. The omens proving unfavourable, the Spartans are required to endure the onslaught of Persian arrows and many are injured; but the omens eventually turn favourable and they advance to the struggle (9.61–62). Their method of fighting is briefly described, and the focus moves to Mardonius on his white charger, where the battle is fiercest (9.63.1). The Persians resist so long as he is alive, but when he falls, they flee to the palisade, and that is pretty much the end of the formal battlefield fighting (9.63.2). After detailing the role played by the Boeotians and the feckless contribution of the majority of the Greeks who entered the battle in poor order (9.69), Herodotus returns to the palisade to which the Persians had fled: although the fight there is intense, the Lacedaemonians cannot take the fort and it is only with the arrival of the Athenians that a 'long and violent' fight ensues at the end of which a breach is made in the wall, the Greeks pour in, and all is over (9.70).

As mentioned above, it is in the description of the fighting itself that Herodotus seems farthest from Homer. Whereas the poet's battle scenes are formulaic, detailed, and somewhat predictable, Herodotus' choice of details can appear almost random. Yet they have at least two things in common with Homer's battles: first, their focus on individuals – in Herodotus' case, Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Mardonius, and Pausanias – and second, their portrayal of the Persians as, like the Trojans, worthy foes, even if in the end they must be inferior to the Greeks.³³

6

Once the fighting has been concluded, one can detect a fifth element, as Herodotus turns to important or unusual events that occurred *during* the fighting. This section can sometimes be just as long as the narrative of the fighting itself, and it

³³ For Homer's portrayal of the Trojans, see Stoevesandt 2004; on the Persians as fighters in Herodotus, see Flower/Marincola 2002, 15–16; Flower 2006, 275–7.

is often marked by a sense of wonder or the miraculous. The section for Marathon is rather short: Herodotus mentions only the marvel surrounding Epizelus (6.117.2–3, *θῶμα γενέσθαι*), an Athenian who, though neither touched nor wounded in any way, suddenly lost his sight while fighting and never regained it. Epizelus himself, Herodotus says, used to say that he found himself opposed to a man of great stature with a long beard, but the figure passed him by and killed the man at his side.

In the narrative of Thermopylae Herodotus mentions the bravery of four men by name, three of them Spartans: Dieneces (the witty figure who is pleased that the Spartans will have their battle in the shade), and the brothers Alpheus and Maron; and Dithyrambus, the Thespian (7.227). He also gives a lengthy account of three of the 300 Spartiates who (possibly) missed the battle, and their subsequent fates (7.229–232). It is worth noting that one other incident that occurred during the battle is somewhat removed from its proper place, for it occurred in the last stages of the battle but it follows on the variant stories about the three absentees. That is the account of Theban desertion and their subsequent branding by the King, which occurred when Leonidas retreated to the hill on the last day (7.233).³⁴ The incident could have been told at its proper point in the narrative, of course, but in that case it might have seemed to distract from the great heroism on display by the Spartans; and by leaving it for later, Herodotus makes certain that the incident will stand out more clearly. When he follows this with his summing up – ‘such, then, is the story of the Greeks’ struggle at Thermopylae’ (7.234.1) – the effect is to leave Theban desertion and branding as the last element in the audience’s sense of that struggle.

Salamis, on the other hand, has quite a lot of focus on the marvellous: first, in the person of Artemisia, whose exploits dominate the narrative and are marked out by the narrator’s explicit mention of her as a woman daring to war with men, and one who in the heat of battle shows impressive coolness combined with Odyssean guile (8.87–88). Herodotus then tells the story of the Phoenicians who malign the Ionians, only to have the Samothracians perform a great deed before the King’s eyes, after which a furious Xerxes orders their heads to be cut off (8.90.2–3). After mention of the most distinguished fighters (8.93), Herodotus tells the story of Corinthian desertion, with Adeimantus raising sail and fleeing only to have a divine voice tell him that the Greeks are victorious (8.94).³⁵ Much ink has

³⁴ On this problematic incident, see Vannicelli/Corcella 2017, 585–6.

³⁵ It is worth noting that this story of Corinthian desertion occupies an analogous place in the Salamis narrative to that of the Thebans at Thermopylae.

been spilt on this particular passage³⁶ but for my purposes here I wish only to note that it is a story of the marvellous moved out of its normal narrative place as a way of emphasising the divine element: whatever Herodotus thought of the Corinthians at Salamis, the story appeals to him because it shows the divine at work in the Persian Wars. That is why, I think, he recounts it even though all but the Athenians deny its truth.³⁷

For Plataea, Herodotus notes first a ‘marvel’ (θῶμα): although the battle was fought just by the precinct of Demeter, not a single Persian was seen to enter that sacred ground nor was a single Persian found dead in it (9.65). This brings forth one of Herodotus’ few pronouncements in his own person about the divine, ‘that the Goddess herself would not let them in, because they had burnt her sanctuary at Eleusis.’³⁸ Herodotus then mentions the individuals and contingents who fought best, in the context of which he offers a lengthy defence of the bravery of Aristodemus, the man who had survived Thermopylae to his shame, and who, Herodotus thinks, missed out on being considered the bravest in the battle because of Spartan jealousy (9.71). He tells the story of Callicrates, ‘the handsomest man in the Greek army’ (9.72.1), who was killed before the battle even began, wounded by an arrow while waiting for Pausanias to give the order to attack; removed from the battle, Callicrates speaks to Arimnestus of Plataea, expressing grief not at dying but at having done nothing worthy of himself (9.72.2).³⁹ The prowess of Sophanes of Decelea is also noted, and the story of his iron anchor is told, with two versions given for good measure, and a further story of his future prowess and death (9.73–4).

7

Let us turn finally to the last element of the battle narratives, the recounting of important or unusual events *after* the fighting. These often blend in very artfully with the previous and flow naturally from the important or unusual events of the battles themselves. They simultaneously serve a valedictory and transitional function.

³⁶ See Asheri/Corcella 2003, 293–5; Bowie 2007, 182–3.

³⁷ Plutarch, of course, viewed it very differently: see *de Herodoti malignitate* 39 (870C), and note especially Plutarch’s derision of the boat as ‘dropping out of the sky’, οὐρανοπετρίς.

³⁸ On Demeter’s importance in the *Histories*, see Boedeker 2007.

³⁹ See Flower/Marincola 2002, *ad loc.* on the Homeric overtones of this scene.

After Marathon, Herodotus tells the story of Datis' dream at Myconos and his search of the ships during which he discovers a gilt statue of Apollo in the possession of the Phoenicians (6.118). He learns that it belongs to the temple of Apollo at Delium in Theban territory, and he entrusts the statue to the people of Delos to return it to its rightful owners. But Herodotus says that they did not do this and that the Thebans themselves brought it back twenty years later on the advice of an oracle. The divine here recalls the mention of the divine before the battle, and serves to reinforce the sense of a divinity at work, even if Herodotus cannot or does not explain the meaning of the story. The other event that happens after Marathon is, of course, the arrival of the Spartans on the third day after leaving Sparta (6.120); given the distance they traverse, their action is certainly meant to be a marvel of sorts, but their appearance also serves to give the Athenians the praise that they have earned for their achievement, without the narrator himself having to do so explicitly.⁴⁰

As for Thermopylae, I mentioned above how Herodotus moves the treachery and branding of the Thebans to the very last part of the narrative. Before this he had recounted the epitaphs written for the fallen (7.228), something he does only in the case of Thermopylae. He then presents a conversation between Demaratus and Xerxes, in which Xerxes praises the accuracy of Demaratus' 'prophecy' about Spartan behaviour (7.234–235). This is then followed by a more dramatic incident, Xerxes' visit to the battlefield and his order to cut off the head of Leonidas, an action that is 'marvellous' in its way because it contradicts the universal Persian respect for men of bravery.⁴¹

After Salamis, Herodotus mentions only that many of the disabled ships after the battle floated to a part of the Attic coast called Colias, and that this fulfilled the prophecies of Bacis and Musaeus, and also one other given long before by an Athenian soothsayer named Lysistratus (8.96.2–3).

Plataea, on the other hand, has the richest array of post-fighting elements, perhaps befitting its status as the decisive battle and perhaps too because Herodotus is approaching the end of his history and beginning to bring together the various narrative threads and themes. The initial focus in the aftermath centres around Pausanias, who is given three scenes, in all of which he is portrayed as

⁴⁰ Note the Spartans' desire to see: *ἰμείποντο ... θεάσασθαι* (6.120).

⁴¹ Note that it is a violation of Persian custom (*παρενόμησε*, 7.238.2), the verb, as Vannicelli/Corcella 2017, 590 note, appearing only here in Herodotus.

the guardian of Greek ethical behaviour.⁴² In the first, the woman from Cos supplicates Pausanias while the battle is finishing up, and he in turn recognises his guest-friendship with her father, Hegetorides (9.76).⁴³ Pausanias then speaks with Lampon the Aeginetan, who urges him to impale Mardonius' body and so have vengeance for the beheading of Leonidas. Pausanias replies with words of rebuke that reassert the appropriate code of behaviour even towards one's defeated enemies (9.78–79).⁴⁴ That brings us finally to Mardonius' tent and Pausanias' comparison of the two meals, the Persian and Spartan, and his observation on the folly of the Persians who risked such wealth to attack the poor land of Greece (9.80–82).

Herodotus then turns to marvels, noting that coffers of gold and silver were found, as well as a skull with no join in it, a jaw with the rows of teeth in a single line, and the skeleton of a man seven and a half feet high (9.83). He notes thereafter that Mardonius' body disappeared and was never found, although several men claimed to have buried it (9.84: the disappearance could be seen as a marvel of sorts, though Herodotus does not categorise it in that way), and he finishes by describing the arrangement of the Greek tombs with the observation that the majority of the ones to be seen in his day were, in fact, cenotaphs put up to impress posterity (9.85).

8

I have obviously been selective in my account of Herodotean battles, but even so I hope that some patterns are visible.⁴⁵ We may then ask to what extent Herodotus' structuring and conception of his battle narratives have been influenced by Homer. To begin with, it is obvious that much is different: to mention only some obvious points, there is uncertainty by the narrator in Herodotus of a sort that is

⁴² For the importance of these incidents in reinforcing some of the major themes of Herodotus' history, see Flower/Marincola 2002, 240–41.

⁴³ The Homeric cast of this episode has often been noticed. See Flower/Marincola 2002, 240–41. This incident could in fact go in the previous section since it occurs during the fighting (though at the end), but it is closely connected with the other two post-battle events concerning Pausanias.

⁴⁴ Pelling 2006b, 98–100 on the interplay with Homer in this episode.

⁴⁵ The presence of patterns does not suggest that these battles are written on some template, and I agree with Tritle 2006, 213 that 'these [Persian War] battles are described very individually rather than as "set pieces"'.

never found in Homer: the conflicting claims at the beginning of the battle of Salamis find no precedent in the *Iliad*. Nor could Herodotus look to Homer for the way to narrate a naval battle, such forms of combat being wholly alien to the spirit and *Realien* of the Homeric world. But all this is as we would expect, given that Herodotus is composing in a new genre and was subject to many influences other than Homer.

At the same time, it seems clear that at least a few elements of battle narrative found in Homer appear in Herodotus, even if in mutated or adapted form. Let us take the presence of the divine as an example. The gods are everywhere in Homer, often taking direct part in the battle, but also plotting and scheming to assure that the outcome is to their liking. Such machinations and characterisations of the divine are not to be found in Herodotus. Yet the divine is nevertheless there, hinted at in one way or another, and present in every one of the major battles. Herodotus gets this across, not by portraying in his own voice divine encounters or miraculous occurrences, but rather by having his characters serve as witnesses to them. There is a rather significant number of them before battle: Pheidippides telling of his run-in with Pan; the priests claiming that the sacred snake had abandoned the acropolis; Dicaeus telling of a great cloud making its way from Eleusis to Salamis; Megistias foreseeing doom in the omens; an unnamed Persian prophesying the destruction of the invading army. And the influence of the divine is reinforced at the end of each battle-narrative by the recounting of unusual occurrences during and after the battle: an enormous warrior and a miraculous blinding; wrecks from a sea battle that wash up onto shore and thus fulfil an ancient prophecy; a debt that is paid in ways unclear at the time to the speaker; prodigious corpses and bones. While in Homer the hands of gods are literally at work, in Herodotus the hand of God is at work behind the scenes; but in both cases the presence of the divine gives larger meaning and importance to the actions of men.

There is also similarity in the exhortation to battle that we find in both Homer and Herodotus. Both authors are capable of portraying larger assemblies with more comprehensive discussion of strategy, and also the shorter utterances, either of a tactical nature or one more generally of encouragement. I have mostly left out of this study the formal orations that stand behind the decisions to fight in Herodotus, since they are somewhat farther removed from the more immediate narratives that I have focused on, but there can be no doubt of their importance for understanding how strategy was decided and what matters the participants saw as being at stake. A full treatment of Herodotean battle narratives would have to include them. In the briefer remarks that I have looked at here, which occur at crucial moments when battle is imminent, we can see an emphasis on motivating the interested parties to do what is right and necessary: this is perhaps clearest

in the discussion before Salamis about standing one's ground or running away, something which has a great deal of Homeric resonance, but one can see it also in Pausanias' message to the Athenians when battle is joined at Plataea, where he notes not only the importance of the struggle, but also the zeal displayed throughout the war by the Athenians.

Third, Herodotus, like Homer, varies the focus in his narratives between individual and group. As we can see in the accounts of Thermopylae and Salamis, the narrative is not linear, but moves back and forth between what is happening in the battle overall, focusing now on the group, now on the individual. The cinematic style is first found in Homer and there can be little doubt that Herodotus 'imitates' that here.

Finally, one cannot help but notice that Herodotus tends to focus almost exclusively on two combatants, Athens and Sparta. At Marathon and Salamis, the Athenians are largely in the spotlight, while at Thermopylae and Plataea it is the Spartans' turn. This is not to say that Herodotus fails to mention or wholly elides the contributions of other states. But those contributions are thrown into the shade by the focus on the major states: at Marathon, the Plataeans are mentioned as part of the army (indeed, they hold one of the wings), but the casualties named are all Athenians and the casualty numbers are given only for Athenian and Persian forces. At Thermopylae the Thespians refuse to leave the Spartans, but again the focus is on the three hundred Spartiates. At Salamis, it is mostly Athens with some help from Aegina (Corinth, which would have been one of the principal naval contributors, is excised from the fighting as Herodotus tells it), and the main narrative line keeps the spotlight on Athens. Finally, at Plataea the focus remains firmly on the Spartans and Athenians, fighting the Persians and the Medising Greeks respectively.

It has often been noted that Herodotus' work was written during the Peloponnesian War, and some scholars have argued that he was addressing himself specifically to Athens and Sparta. His choice of focusing on these two states is thus often interpreted as a political choice, as a way of endorsing the claims of the pre-eminence of the two states that were, in his own time, at war with each other.⁴⁶ Yet one may wonder whether his choice here was not just as much literarily motivated as politically (if indeed it was political). For just as Homer focuses on the *promachoi*, with the *plēthos* or *laos* consigned to a subsidiary place and largely out of sight except as nameless 'extras', so too in Herodotus the states that were not Athens and Sparta are consistently de-emphasised in the narrative, even if they do appear in the catalogues. I have not treated the catalogues but I would

⁴⁶ See above all Fornara 1971, 75–91; cf. Moles 1996.

make two points about these now, because I think Herodotus' procedure even here may be Homeric: first, the catalogues of forces tend to be somewhat removed from the fighting portion of the narrative; second, of the vast number of forces enumerated, in most cases only two, Athens and Sparta, play any role. This is true even when the forces are enumerated according to their position in the line, as they are at Salamis and Plataea (8.43–48; 9.28). Indeed, these lines play absolutely no role in the narratives of the fighting since at Salamis Herodotus says explicitly that he cannot say what part each played, while at Plataea the majority of the Greeks disobey orders and flee to the city, leaving the Athenians and Spartans to bear the brunt of the battle (8.87.1; 9.52).⁴⁷ The highlighting of these *promachoi* allows the narrator to fix on a limited theatre of exploits and serves correspondingly to allot to them, far more than to any of the other Greeks, the *kleos* that is promised in the preface.

In sum, then, Homer seems to be an important influence on Herodotus' battle narratives, even though the historian's narratives do not imitate exactly the Homeric conventions and viewpoints, but rather demonstrate a robust and on-going adaptation of several Homeric conceits. That is what we would expect, after all, since Herodotus can never have intended to write up his battle narratives exactly as had Homer, given that he was a great creative artist in his own right and that he was working in a new genre which was being defined almost as he proceeded. Herodotus may indeed have been 'most like Homer', but he was above all most like himself.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ On catalogues of forces in historiography, see the insightful remarks of Lendon 2017, 43–44, 57–62.

⁴⁸ Earlier versions of this paper were given at the University of Iowa, the University of Texas at Austin, and the Southern Section meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. I thank each of those audiences for constructive criticism. I am also grateful to David Branscome, Charles Chiasson, Michael Flower, Edith Foster, Scarlett Kingsley, the anonymous reader for the Press, and the editors of this volume for helpful advice and suggestions. None of them necessarily agrees with what I have written here, and I alone remain responsible for errors and omissions.

Appendix: Features of Herodotean Battle Narratives

	Marathon	Thermopylae	Salamis	Plataea
(1) Preliminary omens and signs	Earthquake at Delos (6.98.1). ⁴⁹	Spartans tend to their hair (7.208–210).	Disappearance of the snake on the Acropolis (8.41). ⁵⁰	Persian at Attaginus' banquet predicts imminent destruction (9.16).
	Pheidippides has a run-in with Pan (6.105).	Megistias reads doom in the sacrifices (7.219, 221).	New shoot of sacred olive arises day after burning of Acropolis (8.55).	Greek and Persian omens unfavourable for attack, favourable for defence (9.36–7).
	Hippias' dream and his lost tooth (6.107–8).	Leonidas remembers oracle foretelling death of Spartan king (7.220).	Earthquake at dawn (8.64).	Verses of Bacis predicting Persian defeat (9.43).
			Demaratus and Dicaeus see giant dust cloud headed for Salamis (8.65).	Pausanias looks towards the temple of Hera (9.61).
				Pausanias' 'fairest victory' fulfils the prediction made by Xerxes (9.64.1).

⁴⁹ The earthquake at Delos serves as an introduction to the Persian invasions generally, since it is here that Herodotus notes the evils suffered by the Greeks in the time of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.

⁵⁰ The immediately preceding story of the Persian attack on Delphi and the miraculous events surrounding it (8.36–39), although not part of the Salamis narrative proper, may also be seen as a harbinger of what was to transpire at Salamis.

Appendix: Features of Herodotean Battle Narratives

	Marathon	Thermopylae	Salamis	Plataea
(2) Communication of Strategy	Miltiades explains to Callimachus why the Athenians should attack before they are betrayed to the Persians (6.109).	Greeks decide on Thermopylae because 'it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and at the same time nearer home' (7.175); but cf. 7.206: Leonidas and men sent to Thermopylae as advance force to encourage others; no one expected the battle to come so soon.	Mnesiphilus explains to Themistocles the benefit of fighting in the narrows of Salamis; if they leave the narrows, the alliance will break up (8.57).	Chileus: 'if Athenians leave the alliance, we have no hope; join with them before they change their minds; the Isthmus is no defence' (9.9).
(3) Importance of the battle	Miltiades: 'It is now in your hands, Callimachus, either to enslave Athens or to make her free' (6.109). Cf. Pheidippides' speech to Spartans (6.106).	'... indeed by remaining at his post he [Leonidas] left great glory behind him, and Sparta did not lose her prosperity, as might otherwise have happened' (7.220).	Themistocles: 'if we beat them at Salamis, the Peloponnese is preserved and the Persians go no further' (8.60). Themistocles to Eurybiades: 'it is now in your hands to save Hellas' (8.60a).	Pausanias to Athenians: 'the great struggle is now upon us – the struggle which will determine the liberty or enslavement of Greece (9.60).

Appendix: Features of Herodotean Battle Narratives

	Marathon	Thermopylae	Salamis	Plataea
(4) The fighting itself ⁵¹	'... the struggle was long drawn out' (6.113).	'... all day [the first day] the battle continued' (7.211). '... there was a bitter struggle over the body of Leonidas' (7.225).	'... the Hellenes fought in an orderly fashion by line, but the barbarians ... did nothing with forethought; ... yet they were brave that day, for they all showed zeal out of fear of Xerxes' (8.86). ⁵²	'... a bitter and protracted fight hand-to-hand' (9.62).
(5) Important or unusual events during the fighting	Epizelus loses his sight during the battle after he sees a giant warrior (6.117).	Witty remarks of Dieneceas discounting the dangers (7.226). The bravery of Alpheus, Maron, and Dithyrambus (7.227). Stories about three of the 300 who (possibly) missed the battle and	Exploits of Artemisia (8.87–88) Samothraccian deeds lead Xerxes to punish the Phoenicians (8.90). Mysterious boat and voice urge Adeimantus and the Corinthians back to battle (8.94).	No Persians fell in Deme-ter's precinct (9.65). Aristodemus' performance in battle (9.71). Wounding and death of Callicrates (9.72). Sophanes and his 'anchor' (9.74).

⁵¹ So as not to overburden the chart, I have chosen only one aspect to highlight here. The full details of others can be found in §5, above.

⁵² It is noteworthy that for Salamis alone Herodotus does not say that the struggle was long drawn out; cf. *Aes. Pers.* 386, 428 where the battle begins at dawn and lasts until night.

Appendix: Features of Herodotean Battle Narratives

	Marathon	Thermopylae	Salamis	Plataea
		their subsequent fates (7.229–32). Theban desertion and branding (7.233).		
(6) Important or unusual events after the fighting	Datis finds a statue of Apollo on board a Phoenician ship (6.118). The Spartans arrive too late for the battle but praise the Athenians (6.120)	Epitaphs for the fallen (7.228). Conversation of Xerxes and Demaratus (7.234–5) Xerxes impales the head of Leonidas (7.238)	Shipwrecks make their way to Colias, thereby fulfilling the prophecies of Bacis, Musaeus, and Lysistratus (8.96).	Pausanias and the suppliant woman (9.76); and Lampon the Aeginetan (9.78–9); and the Persian banquet (9.80–2). Coffers of gold and silver found later; unusual skeletons also found (9.83). Body of Mardonius disappears the day after the battle (9.84). Tombs of the Greeks are mostly cenotaphs (9.85).

Angus Bowie

Herodotus the story-teller

Herodotus, who sometimes writes for children,
and sometimes for philosophers (Gibbon)¹

The topic of this essay may seem a somewhat nebulous one. It addresses a simple question: ‘what is it that makes Herodotus’ stories² so memorable?’ I am conscious that to ask such a question may seem very old-fashioned in literary-critical terms, though it impinges on narratology and perhaps on the current interest in cognitive theories. Since Herodotus would have promulgated his work largely orally, the ability to maintain an audience’s interest through skill as a narrator would have been essential, because not everyone would have wanted to hear about the source of the Nile. His stories do have a very attractive, colloquial and accessible quality to them which contrasts well with the more scientific passages, yet at the same time they are clearly not just entertaining alternatives to more serious material, but carry their own meanings that bear on the work as a whole. I want to look at some of the techniques which Herodotus uses to make memorable stories which have a significance beyond the aims of entertainment.³ Some of the conclusions chime with those reached by others, and I am conscious that I am looking at only one type of narrative, but I have tried to concentrate on detailed study of rhetorical and linguistic features as a way of exposing the patterns which sustain such narratives and constitute their attractiveness.

1 Candaules, his Queen and Gyges (1.8–13)

I begin with the very first tale in the *Histories* and the transfer of power from the Heraclids to the Mermnads. This story has been the subject of a number of studies.⁴ As the first story, it is appropriate that it is, as we shall see, about opening

1 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, London 1909, vol. 2, p. 522 n. 54.

2 On the difficulty in finding a suitable word and definition of such aspects of Herodotus’ work, see Gray 2002, 291–9.

3 For a broad survey of Herodotus tales, see Gray 2002. In addition to the works cited below, see also in general Aly 1921 and Thomson 1935.

4 See also Pohlenz 1912; Stahl 1968 (385 n.1 for a full bibliography to that point); Erbse 1981, 253–60, 1992, 93–9; Long 1987, 9–39; Tatum 1997, 38–48.

things up. Transfers of power often involved women connected with the deposed or previous ruler,⁵ and in this case, it is Candaules' desire to prove to Gyges that his wife is the most beautiful in the world and the wife's revenge for Gyges' seeing her naked which brings about the transfer. The story will not however be principally about the Queen and her role—indeed, she disappears before the end—, nor indeed principally about the death of Candaules.

The story is very simply structured. The first two parts are complementary. Candaules persuades Gyges to look upon his wife, overcoming his reluctance with an assurance and a description of the scheme; the scheme is then carried out from behind the bedroom door but is observed by the Queen. Then the Queen forces an again reluctant Gyges to kill Candaules, once more describing the scheme, and again Gyges sees there is no way out; the scheme is carried out from behind the same door. In the last part, the dispute over the killing is resolved by the Delphic Oracle. This parallelism will however turn out to be more than a matter of simple structuring.

The first section (§8) is itself neatly put together, and contains crucial elements for the whole episode. There are two speeches, each with a *gnome*: first, by Candaules, with a *gnome* about eyes being more trusted than ears; and then by Gyges, with a *gnome* about how a woman casts off her shame with her clothes, and also a warning about not desiring things that one should not. There are two important ideas here which will recur regularly in this passage and throughout the episode: 'seeing', and 'slipping out of', the latter combining the ideas of 'coming out of hiding' and 'undressing' and so 'nudity'.

Seeing appears in Candaules' reference to his wife's εἶδος ('appearance', 8.1, 2), his *gnome* 'ears are less trustworthy than eyes' (ᾠτα ... ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν, 8.2), his insistence to Gyges that he will arrange things so that 'you may see' (θεήσεται, 8.2) the Queen, Gyges' rejection of the command that he should 'see' (θεήσασθαι, 8.3) her, and his *gnome* that one should 'look to' (σκοπέειν, 8.4) one's own business.

Uncovering is emphasised by Gyges' epigrammatic 'when her cloak is removed a woman at the same time removes her respectability' (ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῃ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή, 8.3), with two forms of the verb juxtaposed, the first in a physical and the second in a metaphorical sense. Candaules will later explain how his wife 'will put each of her garments on this chair one at

5 For instance, one way in which Darius legitimated his rule was by marrying two daughters and one granddaughter of Cyrus; in myth, Lemnos is refounded when the Argonauts marry the wives of the previous male inhabitants (see Martin 1987; Bowie 1993, 186–95); in comedy, the possession of Basileia is a prerequisite for Peisetaerus' usurpation of Zeus' throne in *Birds*.

a time as she takes it off (ἐκδύνουσα, 9.2); when Gyges has seen her, ‘coming out of hiding (ὑπεκδύς) he went out’ (10.2); and he kills Candaules ‘having come out of hiding (ὑπεκδύς)’ (12.2).

The point of all this repetition⁶ is to put the emphasis on Candaules’ crime of displaying to sight what should not be uncovered, and this is further emphasised by the way that, at the end of the debate, Herodotus recalls Gyges’ *gnome*: ‘amongst the Lydians, almost more than any other of the barbarians, for a man to be seen (ὀφθῆναι) uncovered (γυμνόν) brings great shame’.

The trick of course goes wrong, but the Queen, unlike Gyges, does not cry out, and subsequently invites him to a meeting with her most trusted confidants (τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἑωυτῇ, 11.1), a phrase which mirrors the description of Gyges as ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα (8.1). In this parallel scene, as ‘the one who saw me naked’ (τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον, 11.3), Gyges is given the choice of killing the king or dying himself, ‘so that you may not in future see what you should not’ (ὥς ἂν μὴ ... ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ, 11.2). Gyges sees (ὥρα, 11.4) no way out, and duly obeys his royal commander, killing the king in the same place ‘where he displayed me naked’ (ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν, 11.5). Unlike the Queen, Candaules, being asleep (ἀναπαυομένου, 12.2), does not see Gyges come from his hiding-place: he does not see ‘the things that concern him’.

There is something comic about the lengthy passages on the dilemmas faced by Gyges but, comic or not, in these dilemmas Gyges still has to make the choice whether or not to follow the action demanded by his royal superiors. The choices are unenviable, but he still makes them, and so cannot be absolved of all blame. The language emphasises this idea of his choice: in a phrase involving an unusual internal accusative with διακρίνω,⁷ he asks not to have to ‘decide such a choice’ (διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν, 11.3), but on being forced to he ‘chooses’ (αἰρέεται) to survive. The moral doubleness of his act is shown both by the opposed reactions to the killing by his supporters (στασιῶται) and by the angry Lydians, which leads to the consultation of the Oracle. This ambivalence is further stressed by the Oracle’s reaction: it confirms Gyges on his throne, but at the same time imposes a penalty that his dynasty will last but five generations. The emphasis on choosing is maintained by Herodotus’ choice of ἀναιρέω as the verb for the Oracle’s response (ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη ... ἀνείλε, 13.1). This verb, in the context of divine or oracular utterance, is usually translated ‘respond’,⁸ but it

6 On repetition in Herodotus’ stories, see *imprimis* Long 1987.

7 διακρίνω is used more of deciding *between* things, as Hes. *Th.* 85 διακρίνοντα θέμιστας, *Op.* 35 διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος, *Hdt.* 1.100.1 δίκας ... διακρίνων.

8 LSJ A III.

more likely refers to the selection of one of the μαντικάι ψῆφοι ('divinatory pebbles'),⁹ or φρυκτοί ('beans')¹⁰ which were employed in divination at Delphi. Even the oracle cannot, by its choice, entirely solve the problem of whether Gyges' choice was legitimate, and a compromise has to be reached.

This story thus sets out an idea which permeates the *Histories*, that major crimes do not pay and punishment of a kind must follow, if not for the perpetrator then for his descendants. Nor are mitigating circumstances enough to prevent this. Candaules 'has to come to a bad end', but it is still his choice to break the great taboo on being seen naked. Gyges has little choice, but still makes the decision to obey his royal master and mistress. The very first story therefore illustrates a fundamental aspect of the Herodotean universe, that it is just and not arbitrary. When Croesus complains about the Oracle's behaviour later, he is forced to accept that it was indeed just: 'he acknowledged that the fault was his and not the god's' (91.6).

The features of this story are central to Herodotean story-telling generally. First, there is the use of repeated language and structural patterns, which give the story shape and guide the audience through. Secondly, these patterns are not just functional nor purely for aesthetic show, but can convey the meanings which the stories are told to embody. Thirdly, this is achieved by the way that the stories put their emphasis on aspects of the story which are not the most obviously dramatic parts.¹¹ After three long chapters telling of the discussions with Gyges, the actual killing is told in a brief phrase 'having come out of hiding and killed him' (ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν, 12.2): it is not even granted a main verb. All the emphasis in the story is put on the rightness or otherwise of the actions of the characters: Candaules breaks a great moral taboo of the Lydians, but in killing his king Gyges breaks another. On the question of morality depends the future of the kingship. Fourthly, direct speech can mark the passages where significant meanings are conveyed. Fifthly, play on words can also hint at aspects of the story that will turn out to be more important than first appears. Sixthly, these meanings can have significance beyond the confines of the story. I will look at two further examples to illustrate the various ways these are used.

⁹ See e.g. Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F195 with Jacoby.

¹⁰ See Amandry 1939, 195–200 (on lines 15–17), and in general, Bowie 2009, 226–8.

¹¹ For an analysis of this technique of 'disproportion' used over a larger tract of narrative and its Homeric antecedents, see Griffiths 2006, 135–6; Gray 2007; de Jong 2013, 256–64, 269–73.

2 Polycrates and his ring (3.40–3)

Advised by Amasis that his good fortune is too great and so he should divest himself of his most prized possession, Polycrates throws his ring into the middle of the sea, and there follows a version of the common folk-tale motif of the unexpected return of a lost or rejected object.¹²

The emphases in this story are again placed, not on the more striking aspects such as the unexpected discovery of the ring, but on preparatory and peripheral events. The longest section is the account of Amasis' concern about Polycrates' good fortune and the text of his letter, which is, as often in Herodotus,¹³ given in the first person. The letter is a longish disquisition on the envy of the gods for those who are too consistently fortunate: he who is 'totally fortunate' (εὐτυχέως τὰ πάντα)¹⁴ will end up 'miserable, root and branch' (κακῶς ... πρόρριζος, 40.3). For the simple matter of the story, such length is scarcely required, but we have just seen in 3.39, the first chapter in the proper narrative about Polycrates, that Polycrates has already had extraordinary success, so the lesson is pertinent for his life as a whole. When Oroetes kills him, one reason given is that Polycrates was clearly about to rule the sea, something which Herodotus says no human has aspired to (Minos is excluded as not of 'what we call the human race, 3.122.2). The moral intensity of the letter thus marks Polycrates as another example, like Croesus, of the instability of excessive good-fortune. Solon compared Croesus' eastern luxury with Greek simplicity, but Polycrates shows that excessive living and power is not an Eastern monopoly.¹⁵

The second longest part is the elaborate description of Polycrates' search for a suitable object (41), the preparation of the ship, his very public throwing of the ring into the sea and his sorrow at the loss.

¹² On this type of story, see Loomis 1993. On folk-tale in Herodotus, see Luraghi 2013; Evans 2013. On the story itself, see: Immerwahr 1956–7, 312–22 (esp. 316–19); Versnel 1977; Erbse 1981, 260–2, 1992, 93–9; van der Veen 1993. For another version of the story see Pl. *Rep.* 359e.

¹³ See Bowie 2013.

¹⁴ Words in εὐτυχ- appear eight times in 40. For this use of repetition to emphasise a thematic element in a story, cf. the four-fold mention of Arion's σκεύη in 1.24.

¹⁵ Note the parallel expressions 3.40.2 ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερὸν and 1.32.1 ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερὸν; 3.40.3 πρόρριζος and 1.32.9 ὁ θεὸς προρρίζουσιν ἀνέτρεψε (see Fornara 1971, 36 n.14).

This placing of emphasis on background matters continues in the second part of the story, the discovery of the ring, where the actual discovery plays a relatively minor role. This section is simply structured:¹⁶

A (i) The fisherman finds the fish and gives it to Polycrates.

A (ii) His servants find the ring and give it to Polycrates.

B (i) Polycrates writes to Amasis.

B (ii) Amasis sends a herald to Polycrates.

As with the death of Candaules, the rhetorical or dramatic emphases are not on the actual discovery. The most vivid section is the first, the meeting of the fisherman and Polycrates. There is something charmingly folk-tale-like in a fisherman wandering up to the palace and asking to see the king, and the exchange between them is remarkably cheerful and gracious on both sides: the fisherman stresses how appropriate it is that Polycrates should have the fish; and Polycrates twice expresses his pleasure, and responds to the fisherman's gifts with a gift of his own, an invitation to dinner.¹⁷ All of this is in direct speech.¹⁸

After this elegant exchange of pleasantries, the description of the discovery of the ring is notably more low-key and matter-of-fact, with no direct speech. There is only one word of any colour, *κεχαρηκότες* (42.4), which is applied to the servants: in direct contrast to his double expression of pleasure at the gift of the fish, Polycrates is unmoved, and even his realisation that something divine has happened provokes no sort of reaction from him. The subsequent description of Amasis' reaction is similarly matter-of-fact, and his analysis of the situation is conducted in indirect speech. The theme of pleasure again features, but in the unusual idea of Amasis giving up a friendship in order to avoid having to grieve his heart for a *xenos*: ἵνα μὴ ... ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν (43.2).¹⁹

¹⁶ The story begins with one of Herodotus' ingenuously vague statements of time, πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἔκτῃ ἡμέρῃ, which adds a sense of reality to it. 'Spurious *akribeia*' says Wiseman 1983, 21, but the epithet is not happy: Barthes' 'reality effect' is better. For such 'realist' touches, cf. also the reference to the goldsmith Theodorus who made the ring, for whom cf. Paus. 8.14.8.

¹⁷ Griffiths 2006, 142 notes how Herodotus keeps the focus on Polycrates by not going into the question of how the dinner went, and suggests that a comparison with the similar invitation from Astyages to Harpagus in the story of the unexpected return from exposure of the child Cyrus could fill in the ellipsis.

¹⁸ On speech and action in Herodotus, see Hohti 1976.

¹⁹ ἀλγέω is used sparingly and of strong emotions in Herodotus: 3.50.2, 120.4, 6.67.3 etc.; see van der Veen 1993, 437–8.

As in the case of the Candaules story, the first scene also highlights the four important pillars of the whole story. The very first words of the chapter provide three of these key ideas: ἀνὴρ ἀλιεύς, λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλόν, ἡξίου μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι ('a fisherman, having caught a large and fine fish, thought it appropriate that it should be given as a gift to Polycrates', 42.1): we have the discovery of something notable, consideration of the discovery, and the giving away of the discovery, the last emphasised by the cognate accusative δῶρον δοθῆναι, significantly placed at the end.²⁰ These ideas are then repeated in the fisherman's speech: ἐγὼ τόνδε ἑλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν ... ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος ... σοὶ δὲ μιν φέρων δίδωμι ('when I discovered this, I did not think it right to take it to the agora, but I decided it was worthy of you and bringing it I give it to you', 42.2). The fourth key idea, pleasure, comes at the end: ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε: 'κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλὴ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀλιεύς μέγα ποιούμενος ταῦτα ἦγε ἐς τὰ οἴκια ('Polycrates was pleased with what he said and replied: 'you have done very well and your words and your gift give me double pleasure, so I invite you to dinner'. The fisherman thought much of this and went home', 42.2–3). King and fisherman share in the double pleasure.

This idea of finding a boon, pondering it and giving it away lies at the heart of the story. Each of the characters makes a 'discovery', in a broad sense, of some great object or benefit, and reacts to the discovery. The fisherman finds a miraculous fish, but does not rush to sell it at profit in the market, even though that is how he makes his living,²¹ but considers how he might best use it. It is as if he realises that there is something exceptional about the fish, which makes it inappropriate for one like himself, and giving it to the king brings at least some benefit and frees him from a potential problem. He goes on his way rejoicing. The servants also discover a great object, in Polycrates' ring, which they, being good servants, do not pocket but take straight to the king, and they too are very happy about things (κεχαρηκότες, 42.4). Amasis may be said to have 'found' friendship with a powerful tyrant, but when the ring is rediscovered he too takes stock of the situation, realising (ἔμαθε, 43.2) that Polycrates is doomed, and decides to divest himself of Polycrates' hitherto valuable friendship and so avoid unhappiness (μὴ ἀλγήσειε ... τὴν ψυχὴν, 43.2).

²⁰ Cf. the similar emphasising function of the repetition ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται in 1.8.3 discussed above.

²¹ This point is emphasised by the use of ἀχειροβόλιος, a word found only here in Herodotus, not before him and only in Xen. Cyr. 8.3.37 until much later.

The odd one out in all of this is Polycrates. He has found greater good fortune than all of them (πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως, 39.3),²² and he too tries to give it away to avoid unhappiness and disaster, but he cannot do so. When the ring returns, he too ponders the divine aspect of the matter (τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, 42.4), but does not draw the obvious conclusion that the gods are trying to tell him something; nor does he follow Amasis' advice to repeat the procedure (40.4). His pleasure in the gift of the fish is misplaced: it is another example of his great good fortune (excellent sea food), which is just what he should be trying to avoid. He is doomed as one, in Amasis' words, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει, ('who discovers even what he throws away', 43.2). The four key features thus work in a different way for him, and the fact that he cannot conform to the pattern is a sign of his imminent demise.

This part of the story is thus built out of a simple moral maxim, which is set out amidst the apparently incidental pleasantries of the first scene and repeated three more times: if you have a remarkable piece of good fortune, think about it, and then give it away however painful that may be; that way you will be happy. In fact, the story is simply an expansion of Amasis' earlier advice to Polycrates, which contains all the elements of consideration, discovery, throwing away and happiness: φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε ('*having considered* what you find is *of most value* to you and for which *you would most grieve* in your heart if it were lost, *throw this away*', 40.4). The phrase τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν encloses the episode. Indeed, the whole tale exemplifies the opening sentence of Amasis' letter: 'it is pleasant (ἡδύ) to learn that a friend and *xenos* is prospering (εὖ πρήσσοντα), but your great good fortunes (εὐτυχίαι) do not please me' (οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, 40.1). Measure is all.

Once again, therefore, this story relies on the structural repetition of key ideas and individual words and ideas, and employs direct speech to indicate the importance of aspects of the story which may seem *prima facie* to be incidental or merely preparatory.

22 Cf. 40.1 πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλεονός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης, 40.2 εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα, 43.1 εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, and n.9 above.

3 Cambyses and Egypt (3.1)

Amasis himself fares less well in this last example, the story of why Cambyses invaded Egypt.²³ The story is not this time told in chronological order, so for clarity, here is the actual order of events:²⁴

- A Cyrus asks Amasis for an eye-doctor.
- B Amasis sends the anonymous Egyptian.
- C The doctor is angry with Amasis.
- D The doctor advises Cambyses to ask for Amasis' daughter.
- E Cambyses asks for Amasis' daughter.
- F Amasis is afraid of Cambyses.
- G Amasis sends Nitetis, Apries' daughter.
- H Nitetis reveals the truth to Cambyses.
- I Cambyses in anger invades Egypt.

The order in the text is I H E D C B A | E F G H I, and the ideas of asking, sending and reaction run throughout. The invasion (I) thus envelopes the whole, and the story is in two parts, each of which starts with the request for Amasis' daughter (E): the first follows a retrograde order; the second proceeds to the conclusion in chronological order. The sending of the request for the daughter is thus signalled as if it were the key aspect of the story: there is a four-fold repetition of αἰτέειν in §1: πέμψας ... κήρυκα αἶτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἶτεε δὲ ..., πέμψας ... αἶτεε ἱητρόν, αἰτέειν ... Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα.²⁵

The amount of time spent on the doctor and Amasis in the first part, just over a third of the whole episode, is surprising, since the story is supposedly about Cambyses' invasion. Herodotus gives the doctor prominence by allotting him the only emotive language in this part: he persuaded Cambyses μεμφόμενος Ἄμασιν ('finding fault with Amasis') and then ἐπιμεμφόμενος (2). The doctor is annoyed that Amasis 'snatched him away from' (ἀποσπάσας) wife and family rendering him ἑκδοτον ἐς Πέρσας (1), an epithet which usually carries the sense not just of 'given up' but also of 'betrayed',²⁶ and these words are clearly the focalisations of

²³ See Erbse 1992, 45–8.

²⁴ On 'order' in Herodotean narrative, see de Jong 2013, 269–81.

²⁵ One might note too the slight pun with αἰτέω in the phrase δι' αἰτίην τοιγύδε which introduces the whole story.

²⁶ See LSJ s.v. I.

the doctor.²⁷ So too is the emphatic explanation of his thinking: ἵνα ἢ δούς ἀνιῶτο ἢ μὴ δούς Καμβύση ἀπέχθοιτο ('so that, if Amasis handed over his daughter, he might suffer unhappiness, and if he did not, he would make an enemy of Cambyses', 2). The reason for the emphasis on the grudge will become clear in time, and neither the doctor nor Cambyses nor indeed the king of the invaded country will turn out to be the most important figure in the fabric of the story.

In the second part, we still have to wait to learn the reason for the invasion, as the focus stays away from Cambyses, and transfers to Amasis and his reaction to the demand. Again, the language conveys vividly his emotions: he is ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἄρρωδέων ('angry and fearful'), and in a quandary as to what to do ('he could neither give her up nor refuse', 2); he realises that the daughter of the Pharaoh of Egypt would be simply a lesser wife in Persia, which would be intolerable.

Nitetic is therefore sent as a substitute, and she now becomes the focus of the story: still no Cambyses. Her beauty and fine apparel are stressed: she is κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής ('very tall and beautiful'), and Amasis sends her κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ('having decked her out in finery and gold', 3) as if she were a pharaoh's daughter. Slipped into the middle of this is the fact that she is the only surviving relative of the previous king, Apries: μόνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη (3). We may now be beginning to see what is coming, but Herodotus stages it neatly by having the truth come out in an unexpected way. In a move we saw with Polycrates and the fisherman, he uses a vague statement of time, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον, to introduce the dénouement, the chance exchange between Cambyses and Nitetic (H, 4). Here, finally, we have some direct speech, earlier reactions having been conveyed by focalisation through the characters: with Polycrates, direct speech marked the central moral of the tale, here it finally gives us the reason for Cambyses' invasion.

It is striking that, though Cambyses is the main subject of the story and indeed of much of the coming book, very little is made of him: only two words, μέγας θυμωθέντα ('greatly angry', 5), tell us anything about his reaction, and he is not even named in 3.1.4 when the story returns to him. One remembers Candaules' death. Nonetheless, his violent reaction is parallel to the doctor's anger with Amasis for sending him to Persia, and as with our last example we find the apparently less important part of the story emphasised and extended at the expense of what the story is 'actually' about.

However, one could say that this parallelism, unlike that in the Polycrates story, does not have any significance: two men are angry, but this does not make

27 For another tale of a doctor forcibly kept from home, cf. Democedes (3.125.1, 129–37)

a story. This is where Nitetis comes in. In fact, she is central to the story, as her use of direct speech suggests. There is one aspect of the story which we have so far ignored, or rather, like Herodotus, have kept to the end: Nitetis' very last words, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἔόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότηα μετ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε ('though he was his master, with the Egyptians Amasis revolted against Apries and slew him', 4). We have been told she was the last of her line, but this reminds us of the crucial fact that Amasis murdered her father, and we can see now that the story has a delicious twist in the tail. Nitetis can now be seen, like Cambyses, to be parallel to the doctor. He, by the choice of a king, was separated from his family: she, at the hands of the same king, lost all her family; he gained his revenge on Amasis through Cambyses, she can hope for the same. Amasis of course dies before anything happens to him, but the inclusion of the Egyptians with Amasis as responsible for Apries' death keeps the parallelism, and it is Egypt that will bear the brunt of Cambyses' anger.

As with the story of Polycrates, we have three examples of the same phenomenon,²⁸ this time grudges against Amasis, which are shared by the doctor, Cambyses and Nitetis. Again, too, we have an 'odd (wo)man out': Nitetis' revenge is surely the most satisfying of them all. The two men, a king and a top physician to a king, are in a position to gain their revenge; but Nitetis is the last surviving member of her family and a woman isolated in a hostile world. She and Apries form a pair with Amasis and his daughter, but whilst Amasis' desire to protect his daughter is noble, he is in a position to do something about this; Nitetis however has no power, yet successfully avenges her father's murder. It is the very unexpectedness of her revenge which makes it the most satisfying in the story and a suitable end to it.

Once again, therefore, the structuring of the story around the idea of the grudge against Amasis is not just a matter of holding it all together. Herodotus is able to focus on and display the characters of the three people in the story who could easily have been merely a supporting cast to a story of Cambyses' wrath. In many ways, too, they are more interesting than a belligerent king: the doctor and Nitetis are the victims of international diplomatic relations between rulers, but find ways to get their revenge. That Nitetis does this by doing no more than telling a truth is particularly satisfying, as is the absence of any description of her emotions or feelings.

²⁸ Such three-fold repetitions are of course very common in folk tales across the world. Compare for instance the three times Croesus asks Solon about the happiest man (1.29–33), or the three scenes of misery that Psammetichus views after his capture by Cambyses (3.14).

The story also, like the previous two, assures us that the universe is ultimately a just place: even the powerless can expect recompense. But, more ominously for Cambyses, this unexpected vengeance on Amasis, who behaved criminally in Egypt by killing Apries, looks forward to Cambyses' own end at Ecbatana. Again this comes about in a surprising way: the 'Ecbatana' of the prophecy referred not, as he had expected, to his capital but to a homonymous town in Egypt, and the cap of his sword slipped off by chance, and caused the wound in exactly the same place as he had struck the Bull of Apis (3.64.3). Like Amasis and the Egyptians, therefore, he will suffer for a criminal murder in Egypt. The tale of Nitetis that inaugurates his role in the *Histories* thus forms a ring with the end of his reign.

4 Conclusion

The answer (or part of it) about what makes Herodotus memorable as a storyteller is, then, that he in fact uses very simple devices. These stories rely upon a single idea or nexus of ideas which is repeated for each of the various main characters. In the first, Candaules puts Gyges in a quandary, then the Queen does so; Delphi is then faced with the quandary of how to judge the events. That it finds the decision as difficult as Gyges, and cannot settle the matter one way or the other, is an indication of the complexity of the moral questions involved. In the second, on Polycrates, the pattern is one of finding and divesting oneself of luck which is too great, and Polycrates' inability to follow the pattern signifies his hopeless position. Finally, with Cambyses, anger with Amasis unites the participants, with Nitetis' vengeance made all the more satisfying by its unexpectedness. In two cases, Herodotus extracts a great deal of drama from the apparently peripheral or preparatory aspects of the stories, by the use of direct speech and dialogue: much more time is spent on the dialogues between Gyges and his royal masters, and between Polycrates and the fisherman, than on the *dénouements* of these tales. This enables Herodotus to give all the main figures a brief but memorable characterisation. In the Cambyses story, speech is used slightly differently, to mark the point when we finally get the reason for Cambyses' invasion, which the story has so far kept in the background. Underpinning these first two techniques is the repetition of language to guide the audience through, sometimes with puns. Seeing and discovery recur with Gyges; finding, good fortune, consideration and disposal with Polycrates; and with Cambyses requests, sending and response.

K. Scarlett Kingsley

Justifying Violence in Herodotus' *Histories*

3.38: *Nomos*, King of All, and Pindaric Poetics

1 Introduction

Herodotus is extremely sparing in his use of melic poetry in the *Histories*. Many such poets enter the text, including Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Solon, Anacreon, and Simonides; these figures, however, are incorporated as historical agents with explanatory power for corroborating historical events and answer a historical demand that seldom necessitates their *ipsissima verba*.¹ A striking exception to this tendency comes in the narrator's citation of Pindar fr. 169a at 3.38. While Herodotus' status as a close and nuanced reader of epic verse is beyond doubt, in this paper I would like to suggest a re-reading of the Pindaric intertext to extend this sophistication beyond *epos*.²

1 On melic poetry and Herodotus, the classic treatment is Verdin 1977, 53–65. See also Ford 2002, 133, 146–152; West 2004, 2007; Frassonni 2005. Bowie 2001, 45–66, examines potential antecedents of historiography in elegiac and iambic poetry. Herodotus gives an epitaph from Simonides at 7.228 = Sim. VI *FGE* (lines 703–5); a reworked fragment of Solon – whom he does not cite – at 7.16; and four words from Pindar 169a at 3.38. More commonly, he refers to melic poets as historical agents, or for substantiating or challenging a historical fact, e.g., Archilochus at 1.132; Arion at 1.32; Alcaeus at 5.95; Sappho at 2.135; Solon at 5.113; Anacreon at 3.121; Simonides at 5.102. A similar practice is observed with tragedians: Phrynichus at 6.21; and Aeschylus at 2.156. Herodotus quotes *Il.* 6.289–292 at 2.116; *Od.* 4.227–230, 4.351–352 at 2.116; references to Homer are found at 2.23, 2.53, 2.117, 4.32; to Hesiod at 2.53, 4.32; to Aristaeus of Proconessus' *Arimaspea* at 4.113–116.

2 I can cite only a select number of contributions to the vast bibliography on Herodotus and Homer, e.g., Huber 1965, 29–52; Strasburger 1972; Pelling 2006, 75–104; Marincola 2007, 1–79; Baragwanath 2008, 35–54, and 35 n. 2 for additional bibliography. For a discussion of the sensitivity of Herodotus as a reader of Homer in contradistinction to his reading of melic poetry, cf. Ford 2002, 147–148: 'In sympotic fashion, Herodotus will occasionally cite a poet for gnomic wisdom, as when he says Pindar "rightly composed" when he said *nomos* ... is the "king of all". But epic is a different matter: Herodotus has real expertise in such poetry that has come from carefully studying and comparing texts.' For the historian and Pindar, Starr 1967, 393–403; Nagy 1990, 314–338; Herington 1991.

At 3.38, Herodotus concludes his ‘pathology of monarchy’ (3.30–38) with the statement that Cambyses was maddened, as his behaviour defied both Persian and Egyptian custom. Herodotus supports his diagnosis with the argument that all men choose their own *nomoi* as best and with a proof from an experiment undertaken by the Persian King Darius, the successor of Cambyses: we learn that Darius had once coordinated the arrival of Greeks and Callatian Indians to his court to test the tenacity of *nomos*. He first inquired of the Greeks how much money would be needed to make them eat the corpses of their deceased fathers. After their firm negative, Darius then called in the Callatian Indians – whose funerary customs involved ancestor-ingestion – and reversed the question by asking them how much it would take for them to burn the corpses of their fathers – the Greek funerary custom. The Callatian Indians beg the king to keep silent in their rejection of this great impiety and barbarism. Darius’ experiment leads Herodotus to the apparently gnomic conclusion: ‘So these things have been customarily observed, and it seems to me that Pindar composed well saying that, “*Nomos* is King of all”’ (οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι (3.38.4).³

The authority of the premier fifth-century melic poet ostensibly conferred weight on the judgment that Cambyses was mad given the universal human practice of considering one’s own *nomoi* just.⁴ As a result of the citation’s new context within the Persian court and both rulers’ testing of *nomos*, two previously opposed elements of the narrative, νόμος and βασιλεύς, apparently re-emerge in a surprising reversal of Persian dynastic rule. In what follows, I will argue that Herodotus’ use of Pindar should not be considered as simply provocative or catachrestic, but that, read in the context of what remains of Pindar’s fr. 169a, it reveals a deeper engagement with Pindaric poetics and actively interrogates

3 Translations from Grene 1987, adapted.

4 For a lucid summary of νόμος in Greek literature, Ehrenberg 1966, 114–125; Ostwald 1969, 20–61. I will translate *nomos* (and its cognates) variously as ‘custom’, ‘law’, or ‘tradition’, as its fifth-century range includes all of these meanings, with, e.g., Guthrie 1969, 56–57; *pace* Girardeau 1984, e.g. 135, who artificially separates the ‘religious’ meaning from its ‘civic’ one. On Herodotus and *nomos*, Evans 1965, 143 writes that ‘Herodotus had a clear concept of ‘custom-law’ which he expressed by the terms *nomos*, *tropos*, *ta nomaia*, etc.’, and at 1961, 110 that ‘[t]hey are the rational factor which makes people act as they do, and the possession of *nomoi* is a mark of civilization’. Redfield 1985, 98–9 observes: ‘*Nomos* means something more explicit than *ēthea*, something more definite as command or prohibition. Very often a *nomos* is a written law (and that may be the original meaning of the word); when used for a custom it means something which can be put into words and stated as a rule. *Nomoi* are specifically human; the word has no relevance to animals. Furthermore, *nomoi* are the sign of a certain level of culture; every people has its *ēthea*, but the most savage people have no *nomoi* at all’.

questions regarding *nomos*, monarchic violence, and justification. Rereading the historical narrative in light of fr. 169a will show that Herodotus' engagement goes beyond 3.38 and that the hypotext informs a broader dialectic on the justificatory power of *nomos* in the context of Persian kingship.

First, I will illustrate the context of Herodotus' quotation by a reading of Pindar's extant fragment. Second, I will turn to the *Histories*, and suggest that the Heracles' myth sheds important light on our interpretation of Cambyses' rule. Finally, I will move to an analysis of the aftermath of Cambyses and suggest that fr. 169a plays into a larger discussion on the nature of Persian despotism. Herodotus' incorporation of the quotation and sustained allusion will have implications for his use of poetry in the *Histories*. While I have no wish to argue against the idea that Herodotus' incorporation of such poetry in general provided his narrative with valuable facts concerning past events as well as a kind of cultural currency, I will argue that, in the context of Pindar at least, it also allowed historiography to interact more profoundly with the literary-cultural milieu of fifth-century Greece. My interpretation will suggest that Herodotus' historical method is enriched by his status as a thoughtful and creative reader of melic poetry.

Herodotus' quotation of Pindar fr. 169a is, as we saw above, not simply left to the learned listener (or reader) to register; instead Pindar is specifically named, a fact that suggests the historian is interested in his audience 'getting it right', by identifying the hypotext. Yet perhaps in part because of its lengthy afterlife in Greek literature, scholars of both Herodotus and Pindar have treated 3.38 as a superficial aphorism tacked on as an afterthought, without serious engagement with the context of Pindar's statement.⁵ For example, Stephanie West has argued that '[t]his piece of gnomic wisdom is purely ornamental, producing a pleasing closural effect as Herodotus turns from Egyptian/Persian affairs to Samian.'⁶ This verdict fails to recognise the relationship between the hypotext and citation, and does so by ignoring the fragments we possess of Pindar's song. It is to these we will now turn.

5 Schröder 1917, 199, is classic: 'Man darf vielleicht daraus schließen, daß auch Herodot das wort schon als ein "geflügeltes" zitiert, ohne sich das Gedicht, das ihm ja noch vollständig vorlag, durchzulesen.' Its afterlife is very long, but important witnesses are: Pl. *Gorg.* 484b4; *Prt.* 337d; *Leg.* 690b-c, 714e-715a, 889e-890a; Ar. *Rh.* 1406a; Plut. *Mor.* 780c7; Plut. *Demetr.* 42.8.3; Dio Prus. *Or.* 75,2; Aristid. *Against Plato, In Defence of Rhetoric* 2.226-31 Lenz-Behr; Celsus *True Word* 5.34.40; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.29.181.4.

6 West 2004, 84; 2007, 114.

- 40 . νᾱτ[]ν . [
 Nomos, the king of all,
 of mortals and immortals,
 leads, deeming just what is most violent
 with the highest hand. I bring as witness
 5 the deeds of Heracles,
 since he drove Geryon's cattle
 to the Cyclopean portal of Eurystheus
 without punishment or payment,
 Diomedes' mares
 10 ...monarch of the Cicones
 by the Bistonian lake,
 the awesome son
 of Enyalios with the bronze breastplate.
 great
 15 ...not with excess, but with virtue.
 For it is better to die when possessions
 are being seized than to be a coward.
 having entered the great (palace?)
 ...a path of violence in the night
 20 having taken one man...
 he threw him into the stone mangers
 ... the mares ... mind(s)
 and him...quickly
 sounded forth the cracking
 25 of solid-white bones being broken.
 And he immediately...the chain
 with bronze links...the manger(s)
 of the horses through the stalls, and he soundly thrashed
 one mare carrying a leg in its teeth,
 30 another a forearm,
 and another the lower neck of the head.
 nevertheless...
 he shouted out the most bitter report
 35 raging...tyrant...
 without shoes from the intricate bed

(trans. Race, adapted)

The fragmentary state of these verses leaves much unclear.⁷ The genre of the poem, the number of lines, and even the metre are unresolvable issues without additional evidence.⁸ Furthermore, while it is often assumed that this is the *incipit* of Pindar's poem because of its dramatic flourish, there is no evidence in support of or against this assumption, and so it must remain conjectural.⁹ In any event, the fragment as we have it begins with Herodotus' quotation and continues from there. What may initially appear a gnomic statement in the *Histories* is revealed as quite a novel thesis in Pindar: *Nomos*, ruler of all, governs the following paradoxical phrase, ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον | ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ, 'Nomos leads, deeming just what is most violent with the highest hand.' Leaving aside for the moment the precise meaning of *nomos*, which has dominated discussion of this fragment, let us note that it is metaphorically represented as a monarch ruling with the utmost power and deeming extreme violence just.¹⁰ *Nomos* as monarchic is a vivid and astonishing image. Fifth-century political slogans in both aristocracies and democracies touted *nomos* as the opposition to one-man rule.¹¹ Their ambiguous coalition in Pindar manifests itself in a further paradox, in that its actions result in 'justifying what is most violent', δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον.¹² The tension between

7 With Ehrenberg 1966, 119: 'Das Fragment als Ganzes ist uns ein Rätsel'. A select bibliography on the fragment must include: Schröder 1917; Stier 1928; Gigante 1956 (reprinted 1993); Treu 1963; Ostwald 1965; Theiler 1965; Pavese 1968, 1993; Lloyd-Jones 1972; Pike 1984; Demos 1994; Kyriakou 2002; Payne 2006.

8 For a brief discussion of genre, Lobel 1961, 141: 'To judge by what is preserved the *Dithyrambs* (in two books) would not be an unreasonable conjecture'; for the metrical scheme, 142; Pavese 1968, 51–52, deems it the 'so-called aeolic'; Theiler 1965, 77, thinks it 'freie Daktyloepitriten'; Lloyd-Jones 1972, 54.

9 Pavese 1993, 153, tentatively argues against it as the beginning, on the grounds that 'normally a choral ode does not begin with a theme *G* ["Gnomica"] (especially such a brief one), followed by *M* ["Myth illustrating a gnome"]'. This points to a middle position rather than to a "proem".

10 Etymology has been important historically as an avenue of interpretation, see Schröder 1917, 197, who connects the term to νερ-, and pasturage, an etymology evident popular in antiquity as evident from [Pl.] *Minos* 318a, 321c-d; cf. too Pohlenz 1948, 137; Demos 1994; Grintser, this volume p. 174. For the debate on its meaning in Pindar 169a, *vide infra*.

11 Eur. *Supp.* 429–434. See Stier 1928, 243f.; Giorgini 1993, 33; McGlew 1993, 86.

12 Schröder 1917, 196, 'rechtfertigend das Gewalttätigste (doch wohl nicht jede Gewalttat, sondern eben nur die von ihm gelenkte, in seinem Sinn getane)'; Stier 1928, 227, 'berechtigter Raub'; Bowra 1964, 75, 'rendering just'; Ostwald 1965, 117, 'brings on ... what is most violent and makes it just'; Galinsky 1972, 34, 'chastising', 'bringing to justice'. While Pavese 1968, 57, initially found that "'to justify" is patently impossible', at 1993, 146, he agrees with the *communis opinio*, for which see Lloyd-Jones 1972, 49, 'δικαιοῦν is a factitive; its form suggests that it means "makes just".'

the two concepts – justice and violence – is an obvious one, if difficult to parse.¹³ Pindar immediately supports this proposition with a proof, τεκμαίρομαι, and the rest of the song relates Heracles' violent theft of the cattle of Geryon, and then in greater detail, his seizure of the man-eating mares of the Thracian king Diomedes.¹⁴

The *Rinderraub* from Geryon is passed over quickly, though it is explicitly termed ἀπριάτας, 'without purchase money', a culpable act.¹⁵ A fuller description of Diomedes and Heracles' theft of his mares follows. Diomedes is glossed as the monarch (μὲνναρχον) of the Thracian Cicones and heroised by his descent from Ares and his epithet ἔκπαγλος.¹⁶ His struggle against Heracles is carefully qualified as one of virtuous opposition, οὐ κόλῳ ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ, ruling out the potential traditional mythographic reading that has Heracles' justly punish Diomedes.¹⁷ The scholiast, *ad loc.*, comments, 'Not with *hybris*, but virtue. For not disregarding one's possessions is the action of a brave man, not of a violent one. And Heracles was unjust to take (them) away.'¹⁸ While we need not put too great an emphasis on the scholiast's *ipsissima verba*, it is of interest that Heracles' action is described as unjust, preparing us for an eventual justification.¹⁹ Pindar's apo-

13 For parallels of Heracles as violent and just, cf. Pavese 1993, 146, who notes *Hymn. Hom. Heracles* 6 and Peisandros, *Herakleia*, 10B. I add that in the earliest epics questions of justice and injustice quietly operate in the background and problematize the heroism of Heracles, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.403–4; *Od.* 21.22–38, 11.565–627. For a genealogy of Heracles' actions, see Amphitryon at Hes. [Sc.] 11–12, 82. Antecedent and presumably important for Pindar is Stesichorus' negative portrait of Heracles and heroising of Geryon in the fragmentary *Geryoneis*, cf. fr. 19. 7–8 and 36–37 Finglass.

14 Crotty 1982, 106, is excellent: 'Rather than correct tradition, to bring it into line with the customary distinctions of moral categories, he reflects rather on the power of *nomos* to make men hold contradictory beliefs, so that they revere what they condemn and condemn behavior (Diomedes') which they elsewhere commend.' Heracles' labour against Geryon appears first in Hes. *Theog.* 287–294, where he is glossed as βίη Ἡρακληεῖ; it was apparently depicted on the Amyclae throne, cf. Paus. 3.18.13. Heracles' labour against Diomedes was also on the Amyclae throne cf. Paus. 3.18.12; its first literary reference is here, Pind. fr. 169a.

15 LSJ s.v. ἀπριάτην. Cf. Aes. *Heracleidae* fr. 74.5–6, where Heracles travels to take the cattle of unjust herdsmen, βοτῆράς τ' ἀδίκους κτείνας, and from the triple-bodied Geryon.

16 LSJ s.v. ἔκπαγλος, used of Achilles, *Il.* 1.146, 18.170, 21.589; of the hero Iphition 20.389; of Laomedon at 21.452.

17 For Heracles' labour against Diomedes in archaic sculpture and painted pottery, Kurtz 1975.

18 Schol., line 10 (suppl. Lobel): οὐκ [ἐ]πι ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. τὸ γὰρ [τὰ] αὐτοῦ μὴ προῖσθαι ἀνδρείου (ἐστίν) [] ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβρισ[τοῦ]. Ἡρα[κλῆς] δ(ἐ) ἡδ[ί]κει [ἀφελό]μενος.

19 For the sanitising tradition, Eur. *Alc.* 481–98; Eur. *HF* 380–386; Diod. Sic. 4.15.3–4, where Heracles feeds Diomedes, who is *here* the trespasser of *nomos*, to the mares: ταῖς τοῦ παρανομεῖν διδάξαντος σαρξὶν ἐκπληρώσας.

logetic treatment of Diomedes continues in a gnomic statement: it is better to die in the attempt to preserve one's own property than to act as a coward and live.

Heracles is crafted in perfect opposition to the monarch; his entrance is a violent intrusion, a 'path of violence in the night' (νύκτι βίας ὁδόν). It is clear that he has thrown one of the horses' grooms into the stall from the sound of crunching bones, a grim presage of the fate that awaits Diomedes according to tradition. While in a more popular mythographic tradition Diomedes was killed for feeding men to his horses, in this vignette it is Heracles who perpetrates the injustice.²⁰ Finally, the remainder of what is intelligible recounts Heracles' theft of the mares and completion of his labour. There is a clear logic to fragment 169a as we have it. Pindar opposes a violent Heracles to Geryon and then to Diomedes, and in doing so, forcible seizure to valiant opposition. The initial injustice of Heracles is amply narrated; its justification, if it ever existed, where a monarchic *Nomos* sanctioned Heracles, has been lost.²¹

Here the interpretation of *nomos* will play an important role in dictating the imagined conclusion. While there is no consensus, two main lines of interpretation have emerged from a century of debate. The first, dating at least as far back as Wilamowitz, interprets *nomos* as 'Brauch' or 'ordinary custom'. On this reading, the traditional mythographic moralisation of Heracles as a civiliser who punishes an unjust Geryon and a barbarous Diomedes outmanoeuvres Heracles' injustice. The second interpretation, advocated most powerfully by Gigante, interprets *nomos* as a variation on the 'will of Zeus'. As 'the absolute principle of divinity' it is able to countenance momentary injustice either capriciously or as part of a broader cosmic scheme.²² Despite their differences, the two positions share important elements: both agree that the portrayal of Geryon and Diomedes is sympathetic, and that of Heracles more negative; both conclude that the apparently violent and unjust actions of Heracles are justified, and finally, both see

²⁰ See above; for the death of the grooms, Apollod. 2.5.8. Quint. Smyrn. 6.270–277; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.25.

²¹ There is reason to doubt this, cf. a similarly ambiguous critique of the actions of Heracles, in this case, against the divine, Pind. *Ol.* 9.29–41; elsewhere Pindar defends Geryon specifically in opposition to Heracles, fr. 81: σὲ δ' ἐγὼ παρά μιν | αἰνέω μὲν, Γηρυόνη, τὸ δὲ μὴ Διὶ | φίλτερον σιγῶμι πάμπαν. The scholiast to Ael. Aristid. *ad* 53.5.6.6–7 Jebb = 2.229 Lenz-Behr explains the *aprosiopsis*, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τις αὐτῷ εἴπη ὡς Διὸς βουλῇ τοῦτο γέγονε, πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα δυσχεραίνει, ἐπάγει. Cf. Hdt. 2.45.3.

²² A subset of this group favours a connection with Orphism, e.g., Schröder 1917.

this as a general principle operating in the world of mortals and immortals, of which Heracles is a single example.²³

Herodotus' reference to Pindar would have come in the poet's lifetime or, more likely, shortly after his death. These were not the ossified lyrics of a bygone era, but from the foremost composer of Greece, and while they become some of the most quoted words of Pindar, Herodotus is the first to do so.²⁴ Caution is needed, therefore, in deeming them 'gnomic'. The reference comes at the close of the 'madness of Cambyses' episode.²⁵ The narrative (3.16–38) up to this point has been an encyclopaedia of despotism: Cambyses desecrates the Egyptian king Amasis' corpse; he kills his brother Smerdis; and then his sister – who is also his wife; he buries his Persian agemates alive; he attempts to murder his wise advisor Croesus but instead kills those who have saved his life; finally, he violates Egyptian tombs and mocks the sacred images of Hephaestus and the Cabiri.²⁶ From the start of this narrative, the king has been put in opposition to *nomos*. In fact, the repetition of *nom-* terms in this *logos* is exceptional. *Nomos* alone occurs eleven times in seven chapters (3.31–3.38), the greatest concentration in the *Histories*.²⁷ If we cast a wider net and include the related words νομίζω, νέμω, νόμαιος, and

23 Despite its regular rejection in modern scholarship, e.g., Ehrenberg 1966, 119, in antiquity a third option was preferred, where justification occurred through the *nomos physeōs*, 'natural law': Pl. *Gorg.* 484a-c; *Leg.* 690b, 714e–715a, 889e–890a; *Prt.* 337d; Ael. *Ar. Orat.* 2.226–30 Lenz-Behr, and the scholiast at 226.18, 226.19–20 [52.9.8–9, 52.11.1–3]. Commenting on Pind. *Nem.* 9.15, the scholiast 35a quotes fr. 169a as 'might-makes-right', <κρέσσων δὲ καππαίνει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ> ὁ δὲ ἰσχυρὸς ἀνὴρ τὸ προϋπάρχον δίκαιον καταπαίνει. ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ Πίνδαρος νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἅγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον ὑπερτάτα χειρί. See Braswell 1998, *ad loc.*: 'Although modern commentators and translators ... seem to find no difficulty in accepting this interpretation, some scholars ... have been reluctant to ascribe a doctrine of the right of the stronger to Pindar. I would understand both passages as an expression of a simple realism rather than a moral justification of might. For Pindar where the stronger prevails the rights of the weaker have become irrelevant.'

24 Rosén 1987, vol. I, xxi, proposes another allusion to fr. 169a in the Greek variant on Heracles' arrival in Scythia at Hdt. 4.8.1 – noted by West 2007, 114 n. 14.

25 Cf. Stier 1928, 239ff; Gigante 1956, 110f.

26 For discussion on Herodotus and the behaviour of tyrants, see Hirst 1938, 97–100; Waters 1971; Ferrill 1978; Gammie 1986; Munson 1991; Christ 1994; Gray 1996; Dewald 2003, 25–58; Pelling 2006; Moles 2007.

27 Cambyses is painted as the transgressor, although we have reason to doubt this: see Balcer 1987, 86–93; Lenfant 1996 369–70, as noted in Pelling 2002, 134. Gigante 1956, 111, here correctly translates the term in Hdt. as 'la tradizione', 'la norma', 'il costume' τὰ νόμια, although the historian also uses it as 'law'. According to Gigante, it is different from Pindar's usage in that it is 'relativistica'. For the concentration of *nomos*-terms in 3.38 as a *figura etymologica*, see Grintser in this volume p. 174.

τὰ νόμῳ, the preoccupation of the narrative with this network of terms becomes impossible to overlook.²⁸ *Nomos* is characterised as what is traditional or customary for a specific people, a usage that Herodotus in some cases extends to a more calcified form of tradition, such as written law. Its repetitive nature moves human action along predictable paths, which makes it an important diagnostic tool for historical action. Yet why the concentration *here*? This repetition underscores what is perhaps the main theme of Cambyses' rule over Persia and Egypt, his perversion of custom, tradition, and law.

3 The reign of Cambyses

From the beginning of Cambyses' reign and Herodotus' description of his origins it is clear that *nomos* will be a key prescriptive guide for human action and historical probability, and also that *nomos* and monarchy will be the driving narrative focuses. The Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, as half-Egyptian, a son of Cyrus and an Egyptian Nitetis, the daughter of the Egyptian king Apries (3.2). Herodotus rejects this: not on the basis of superior sources or autopsy, but on the grounds of Persian *nomima*. Egypt knows above all, the historian declares, τὰ Περσέων νόμῳ (3.2.2) – in this case, the impossibility of an illegitimate child reigning with a natural-born son alive. Herodotus is able to convict the Egyptians of falsehood for the sake of an ideologically self-serving blood relationship with the Persian dynastic line through his knowledge of Persian *nomos*. The language of Herodotus' reasoning, οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, opens the *logos* with a proleptic reworking of the fragment of Pindar and draws attention to the emphasis that this episode will lay on the relationship of *nomos* to kingship.²⁹ It also frames the external audience's expectations of the Persians as a people who are predictable on the basis of their observance of *nomos*.

Cambyses' interventions in the *logos*, however, repeatedly disappoint this expectation. His rule is consistently portrayed as a departure from what is custom-

²⁸ Herrmann 1967, 118, for this passage. For the identity between νόμος and νομίζω, 4.59, with Pohlenz 1948, 135.

²⁹ I owe this observation to C. Scardino (personal communication). Note the observation of Immerwahr 1966, 55, that in the 'so-called ring composition the correspondence between initial and final statements is not exact, but purposely varied'.

ary, repetitive, or predictable, and his behaviour demonstrates important anomalies in the context of historical diagnostics.³⁰ Cambyses' position as a threat to *nomos* is made clear from one of his first acts following the subjugation of Egypt – the Great King enters the palace of the former Egyptian ruler, Amasis, and proceeds to torture the mummified body with pincers and goads. As the mummification process keeps the body from suffering much damage, Cambyses then orders it to be burned. Here, the historian pauses and puts emphasis on the cultural logic that this act transgresses:

For the Persians hold (νομίζουσι) that fire is a god. Indeed, burning corpses is not *nomos* for either Persians or Egyptians (οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἔστι). The Persians, for the reason I have given, since they say that it is not just to assign (νέμειν) to a god the dead body of a man, and the Egyptians because among them fire is customarily regarded (venóμισται) as a living beast... It is not at all their *nomos* to give the dead to wild creatures, and that is why they embalm the corpse: that it may not lie around and be devoured by worms. So Cambyses ordered what was against the observances (νομιζόμενα) for either race of his subjects.

Herodotus 3.16.2–4

As if in order to offset the potential interpretation of a reader in the Greek world, where cremation was widespread, Herodotus places special emphasis on the despot's transgression of the observances of both Egyptians and Persians, and he obliquely cultivates a cultural literacy in his audience that will mandate placing Cambyses outside of the bounds of popular morality as determined by what is *nomos*.³¹ Note the many *nom*- related terms in the passage. The narratorial stress on this feature points to the importance of the category as a marker for moral behaviour but at the same time for the obvious disregard of such standards on the part of the Persian king. The burning of the corpse is obviously transgressive, though ultimately unchallenged, a narrative moment that nicely sets the stage for the remainder of the Cambyses-*logos*.

Cambyses' career as a ruler culminates in a similar rejection of *nomos*, which leads into the *locus classicus* of cultural relativism and to the narrator's quotation of Pindar 169a. After his catalogue of murders concludes, Herodotus stresses that the despot must have been mad to act in this way, and orchestrates a hypothetical experiment to test the assertion. He postulates a Nomological Marketplace, in which individuals are given the opportunity to play *nomothetēs* and juxtaposes

³⁰ Cf. 1.137.1, and Cambyses' transgression of the Persian *nomos* forbidding the King to kill his subjects on a single count.

³¹ See Rood 2006, 299. For the practice of cremation, Kurtz/Boardman 1971; Garland 2001, 34ff.

the actions of a sane person, who would choose the *nomoi* of his own people as best, with Cambyzes, who would enter and laugh at all the *nomoi*, confirming his madness.

εἰ γάρ τις προθεῖη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκ ἂν οἰκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἀνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους οἱ πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πολλοῖσι τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε.

For if there were a proposition put before mankind, according to which each should, after examination, choose the best *nomoi* in the world, each nation would certainly its own *nomoi* the best. Thus all think that their own *nomoi* are by far the best. Indeed it is natural for no one but a madman to make a mockery of such things. That these things have been held as customary by all men concerning their *nomoi* one can see from many other pieces of evidence and from the following case in particular.

Herodotus 3.38.1–2

The hypothetical market commodifies the cultural practices of the known world in a scenario reminiscent of the end of Plato's *Republic*. Sanity is indexed by acceptance of one's social practices, insanity by rejection.³² Cambyzes, accordingly, operates outside of social practices as is evident through his hypothetical laughter, symptomatic as it is of his underlying madness.³³ The Nomological Marketplace is in close proximity to our fragment of Pindar in Herodotus, and thus it is of interest that it is reminiscent of another fragment of Pindar: ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἕκαστος (215a).³⁴ Without additional context it is difficult to draw too many conclusions, however it is strikingly similar in content to Herodotus' relativising statements here on the variability of *nomos* and its validity for each social body. Herodotus uses relativism as a foil for explaining the abnormality of Cambyzes – this is a king who defies universal human nature.³⁵ If

32 For an excellent analysis of this passage, Munson 1991, 57ff.

33 For Cambyzes' laughter as a symptom of his madness, Lateiner 1977, 177f.

34 Rutherford 2001, 338, translates: 'Different people have different customs and each man praises his own justice'; also found in Σ Hom. *Il.* 2.400; Artem. *Oneir.* 4.2 (p. 243 Pack). Noted by Schröder 1917, 199; followed by Stier 1928, 228, 239; and Gigante 1956, 112, who connects it to Aes. *Sept.* 1070–71: καὶ πόλις ἄλλως | ἄλλοις ἐπαινέει τὰ δίκαια. See also Pl. *Tht.* 168c. For discussion of this in Herodotus in light of a sophistic strategy of poetic coherence, see Grintser in this volume pp. 170–174.

35 For which, see Otanes at 3.80.4, τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολίτητας πέφυκε.

I am right in seeing a relationship between this Pindaric verse and the Nomological Marketplace, Herodotus may here already be alerting the audience to his engagement with Pindar.

Equally provocative is Herodotus' ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, which transitions into a historical exemplum from the reign of Darius. This is evocative of Pindar's own τεκμαίρομαι | ἔργοισιν in 169a.4–5, introducing as it does Heracles' injustice against Geryon and Diomedes.³⁶ The Persian king Darius, as we saw above, tests the tenacity of *nomos* by attempting to commodify it through a bribe to get the Callatian Indians and the Greeks to switch funerary *nomoi*.³⁷ When both groups reject Darius' bid, Herodotus concludes with, οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι, «νόμον πάντων βασιλέα» φήσας εἶναι. Compositionally, Herodotus reverses Pindar's structure, which is *G* (gnomic statement) followed by *M_g* (myth illustrating gnome). In the *Histories*, *H_g* (history illustrating gnome) precedes *G*.

Herodotus' citation is usually interpreted as haphazard, even careless in relation to the hypotext. Asheri is typical: 'Herodotus is not interested here in the original meaning of Pindar's text: he isolates the verse from its context and quotes it as a motto for his purposes of ethnological and moral comparison.'³⁸ It is often unfavourably compared to the memorable quotation of the fragment by Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias*, as a 'law of nature'.³⁹ If we ignore the Pindaric hypotext, we might interpret Herodotus as appending the gnomic statement catachrestically to illustrate the easy resistance of *nomos* to hegemonic force. Instead of engaging in the disturbing and ambiguous power of *nomos* as a force of justification of violence in Pindar, Herodotus would juxtapose kingship and *nomos* in the final analysis to illustrate the triumph of the latter over the former, and to hint at the reestablishment of normality following the reign of Cambyses.⁴⁰

36 Similarly, Gigante 1956, 113, observes: 'è inevitabile pensare che Erodoto abbia non soltanto data la sua interpretazione, ma anche che l'abbia contrapposta al taciuto contesto pindarico'.

37 Kurke 1999, 86–87; Rood 2006, 300.

38 Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, *ad loc.*; Stein 1893, *ad* 3.38: 'Während sich also Pindars Ausspruch auf jenen φυσικός νόμος oder das allwaltende 'Gesetz', das dem Stärkeren Recht giebt, bezog, hat H. das Wort νόμος in seinem ursprünglichen Sinne 'Sitte, Herkommen' (IV.39 5) genommen und den aus ihrem Zusammenhange gelösten Worten den Gedanken untergelegt, dass das Herkommen eine Macht sei, der sich alle Menschen fügen müssen.' How/Wells 1928, *ad loc.*, find that 'H., quoting from memory, gives the passage a more general sense.'

39 See note above.

40 Nestle 1908, 25: 'Konvention, die Mode ... eine unberechtigte Herrschaft ausübe [sind], deren Fesseln zu sprengen Sache des Weisen sei'; Schröder 1917, 198: 'die Klügeleien der Sophisten ihm noch fremd, so hat es einiges Gewicht, daß er nicht von fern an einen φύσεως νόμος dachte, sondern an den ursprünglichen Sinn "Brauch", "überlieferte Lebensordnung".'

Yet this does not exhaust the interpretative power of the citation. Instead, I argue that Herodotus creatively refigures the hypotext in pursuit of a sophisticated compositional technique that interlaces the content of Pindar's *melos* and historical action. Pindar's fragment alerts the audience to a 'mirror-story', and the hypotext reflects more powerfully upon the dynamics of legality, violence, and kingship in the Histories than has previously been noted.⁴¹ If we juxtapose Herodotus' characterisation of Cambyses and the justification of Heracles' violence in fr. 169a interesting results follow, whether we interpret Heracles as protected by the will of Zeus or by tradition.

First, I tentatively suggest that the historian subtly patterns the tyrant along the contours of the 'maddened Heracles'.⁴² The narratorial insistence on Cambyses as maddened throughout the *logos* has long puzzled scholars. Herodotus identifies it as the cause of which the transgression of *nomos* is but a symptom. Yet Darius and Xerxes too will disregard Persian convention, but without a diagnosis of madness.⁴³ After an insult to the divine, Cambyses' insanity results in murderous attacks on his natal family and his Persian subjects; in one variant he kills his unborn child along with his wife. Alone of all the Persian rulers he is portrayed as using his bow as a weapon.⁴⁴ It first enters the narrative ominously as a gift from the ruler of the Long-Lived Ethiopians; like its Odyssean counterpart, it is intended to serve as a reminder of the strength of its original owner

41 Humphreys 1987, differently, draws attention *en passant* to the Pindar fragment and conflates Pindar's treatment with the positive tradition on Heracles, 212–213, 'Since we do not have the whole poem, some uncertainty about Pindar's intention remains, but the passage belongs to an account of the theft of the man-eating horses of Diomedes by Heracles, an act in which *prima facie* Heracles was in the wrong, as the papyrus commentary...makes clear. Nevertheless, man-eating horses do not act as horses should, and the accounts of the incident by Euripides (*Alcestis*, *Heracles*) and Diodorus Siculus emphasise that Diomedes is to blame for bringing them up wrongly. Heracles' general role in his labors is to rid the world of monsters, and man-eating horses are monstrous, hybriatic ... [which] seems to mean that Heracles' act, though violent, fits into an overall pattern of *nomos*.'

42 Prior to its most famous manifestation in Eur. *HF*, the madness of Heracles appears in the mythographic tradition as early as the *Cypria*, where Nestor recounted it to Menelaus, Bernabé *PEG*, p. 40, 28–29; Stesichorus and Panyassis appear to have recorded it as well, from fr. 230 *PMGF* = 283 *Finglass* (= Paus. 9.11.2); Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 14 recounted Heracles' murder of five of his children by fire. For the later tradition, Diod. Sic. 4.11.1–2; Apollod. 2.4.12. Heracles' madness and his murder of intimates is linked, cf. Blok 1995, 402. In the Egyptian *logos*, Heracles is the subject of an extended demythologisation, 2.43–45.

43 Cf. Darius at 4.84.1–2; explicitly of Xerxes at 7.238.1–2, but see also 8.109.3.

44 1.136.2, Persian youth were taught to ride, shoot straight, and tell the truth; at 5.105.1 Darius shoots an arrow into the sky.

(3.22.1). This same instrument is responsible for Cambyses' initial anger and dismissal of his brother, Smerdis, who was able to bend it with only marginally better results than the king himself – a portent of his apparent, but illusory threat to the throne. Cambyses paradoxically uses his own bow to display the strength of his sanity, which is proved, on his reasoning, by accurately targeting the heart of his wine-bearer (3.35.1–3). Similarly, he aims it at his wise advisor Croesus, who only narrowly escapes by fleeing for his life (3.36.4). The madness of Cambyses and his association with violence against his kin, the Persians, and the Egyptians, all calls for a reckoning.

The effective conclusion to the account of Cambyses' kingship at 3.38.4 with the statement that *nomos* is king of all and the subsequent rise of the False Smerdis may initially suggest that Cambyses is opposed to *nomos* and that the force of Persian tradition will eventually reassert itself and absorb the offender. This conclusion neglects the constitutional position of Cambyses, however, as well as Persia's recommitment to this position in the context of the Constitutional Debate. Just prior to Herodotus' citation of Pindar, in the context of an additional lemma in the encyclopedia of Cambyses' depravity, the historian narrates Cambyses' murder of his sister, who, it is revealed, was also his wife. Herodotus narrates the distorted familial values that plagued the Great King prior to his attack of Egypt in an analepsis that explains her marriage to Cambyses, although this was contrary to Persian *nomos*. For this reason, Cambyses consulted specialised Persian judges, guardians of legality and tradition in Persia, with a request to discover a *nomos* that allowed a brother to wed his sister.⁴⁵

εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται. οὕτω οὐτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δέισαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς.

When Cambyses put his question to them, they gave him an answer that was both just and safe. They said that they could find no *nomos* that ordered brothers to live with sisters; but they *had* found another *nomos*, which said that he who was king of Persia could do anything he wished. So they did not break *nomos* through fear of Cambyses, but, so as not to destroy

45 For a persuasive reading of this passage, Thompson 1996, 71: 'Herodotus uses Cambyses to illustrate the hypocrisy, for if the Persian king can make incest his own law, this shows that even Persian limits have their limits, at least in the case of the Great King. All others are forbidden from taking that lesson to heart, a situation that would seem to corrupt everyone involved.'

themselves while protecting *nomos*, they discovered another *nomos*, which would serve to help one who desired to marry his sister.

Herodotus 3.31.4–5

The analepsis makes it clear that Cambyses' desire to make his sister his wife challenges Persian *nomos* and that it results in an inquiry into the legality of his appetite by specialised judges.⁴⁶ Rather than simply changing the law, the Persian jurisconsults are in the uniquely difficult position of both maintaining this *nomos* against incest and at the same time altering it in order to appease the despot. Their resolution in fact does both. Through the 'discovery' of a *nomos*, the king's constitutional position is clarified as the following, 'to the ruler of the Persians it is permitted to do as he wishes', τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἄν βούληται. Although he will undertake actions contrary to *nomos*, ultimately, Cambyses is constitutionally sanctioned by *nomos*.⁴⁷

This position is dramatically reinforced by the Pindaric hypotext, where the mirror story immediately recalls the justification of the violent actions of Heracles through *nomos*. In his ability to sustain lawlessness and lawfulness, Cambyses evokes the complex portrait of Heracles that Pindar presents. How precisely, then, does this passage challenge the orthodox reading of Herodotus' coda as a triumphant outmanoeuvring of despotic coercion? The Pindaric fragment acts as a *mise en abyme*, one that is activated by the audience's awareness of the contents of the song.⁴⁸ Explicit justification of Cambyses' actions at the constitutional level parallels the justification of Heracles, and forces the audience to question the immediate surface reading of *nomos* as indeed trumping all in Persia. The exemplum nicely illustrates the Callatian and Greek rejection of abandoning *nomos*, but it equally throws into relief the very different behaviour of the Persians in relation to their flagrantly anomalous ruler. Rather than rejecting his transgressions, they legislate the ruler's behaviour into what is *nomos*. In Persia, *nomos* does not outmanoeuvre despotic compulsion; compulsion becomes *nomos*. This conclusion is supported by Herodotus' reworking of fr. 169a into indirect speech.

⁴⁶ For bibliography on the Persian jurisconsults, Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, *ad* 3.31.

⁴⁷ Munson 1991, 60–61, interestingly, sees Cambyses as the embodiment and resolution of the problem of *historiē*, more generally. Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 31.2, 'Here Herodotus does not mean that marriage between blood relatives became "legal" in Persia from Cambyses onwards; on the contrary, from the related anecdote it may be deduced that what is exceptionally allowed to the king is nevertheless forbidden for all others.'

⁴⁸ Munson 1991, 62 n. 29, 'The meaning of Herodotus' passage would certainly be enhanced by an understanding of the Pindaric context, but the reference ("literary code") is undecipherable for the modern reader.'

Observe that he removes the article that Pindar himself had composed: ὁ ... βασιλεύς becomes βασιλέα – a small change, but one that would have sounded rather different to a Greek audience primed to treat only one individual as βασιλεύς without the article – the Great King. If I am correct, Pindar signals an ambiguity that applies to Heracles *and* Cambyes: they are sanctified by *nomos*, though each transgresses the dictates of popular custom or law.⁴⁹ While many scholars have suggested that the sentiment is tacked on thoughtlessly at the end of the passage, read in the context of the wider narrative and Pindar's treatment, it reveals that Herodotus' incorporation of the citation displays a sophisticated technique of quotation *and* sustained intertext: the quote serves both a proximate purpose – in acting as an immediate comment on the naturalism of respecting one's own *nomoi* – and a distal one, in its engagement with Cambyes and the pathology of monarchy.⁵⁰

A valuable reception of Herodotus' complex interaction with Pindar's song can be found in the anonymously authored *Dissoi Logoi*. In this late fifth or early fourth-century text, the philosopher makes two opposing arguments on a series of paired predicates – on the subjectivity or objectivity of, for example, the 'seemly' and 'shameful', or the 'just' and 'unjust'. In the course of his argument on the relativism of the 'just' and 'unjust', the philosopher provocatively contends that deception, lying, stealing property, violence, enslaving others, oath-breaking, temple theft, and the murder of intimates are all justifiable situationally, and that an inflexible, objective set of ethical principles must fall short of the complexity of human moral instincts. As evidence for this proposition, the *sophos* adduces a verse from the riddling poet Cleoboulina: 'I saw a man stealing and cheating violently, and doing this with violence was most just', ἄνδρ' εἶδον κλέπτοντα καὶ ἐξαπατῶντα βιαίως | καὶ τὸ βίαι ῥέξαι τοῦτο δικαιοτάτον.⁵¹ Whatever the answer to the riddle – it is not provided – it is a fitting capstone to the thesis that the complexity of human behaviour requires a situational ethics. The justification (δικαιοτάτον) of the violent actions of a thief and a cheat is reminiscent of Pindar's treatment of Heracles in fr. 169a (δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον), and

49 Humphreys 1987, 214, tentatively concludes that for Herodotus 'keeping within the bounds of *nomos* is what matters'.

50 E.g. Gigante 1956, 109, calls Herodotus' use of the fragment in 3.38 'avulso dal suo contesto', and, 'quella di Erodoto si può assumere come interpretazione polemica'. Stier 1928, 240, differently, places Herodotus in a continuum with Pindar, and argues that Herodotus similarly treats *nomos* as an 'objektive Norm' which is 'Richtigkeit' for individual human groups, as Pindar. Pace Heinimann 1945, 71, who argues that each *nomos* is an expression of Zeus, and consequently, obligatory.

51 *Dissoi Logoi* 3.11 = fr. 2 West.

Persia's willingness to justify injustice arising from the King. While the context of this coda is quite a different one, it gives important insight into the intellectual milieu Herodotus writes in, where the justification of violence was a virtuoso display of sophistic reasoning.

4 The constitutional debate

Herodotus' engagement with the poetics of violence and justification through *nomos* does not end with the fall of Cambyses and the rise of the False Smerdis. Following the successful Persian end to the revolt, Herodotus narrates a debate between the conspirators affecting it that took place in Persia. Although 'untrustworthy to some Greeks', we are assured that it did occur. In the course of this famous constitutional debate three speakers in succession address the merits and defects of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, and in doing so give voice to a political philosophical *tour de force*.⁵² The first conspirator, Otanes, speaks in support of democracy, stressing the systemic flaws in Persia's constitutional monarchy.⁵³ As I will argue, the rhetoric of his speech reworks the language of the reign of Cambyses and challenges his inviolate constitutional position. After affirming that one-man rule in Persia inevitably degenerates into tyranny and breeds unchecked violence, *hybris*, he continues:⁵⁴

κὼς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρητημένον μοναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε.

How can monarchy be a suitable thing? The monarch may do as he pleases, with none to check him afterwards. Take the best man on earth and put him into a monarchy and you put him outside of the thought that customarily guided him.

Herodotus 3.80.3

According to Otanes, a key structural deficiency of Persian monarchy is the ruler's ability to do as he wishes, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται. This is

⁵² Important bibliography on the debate are: Stroheker 1953–4; Apffel 1957; Erbse 1960; Podlecki 1966; Connor 1971; Lasserre 1976; Lanza 1977; Lateiner 1984, 1989, 163–171; Pelling 2002, 123–158. For a lucid discussion of the history of the interpretation of this debate, Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, *loc. cit.* It has its roots in Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.86–88, where within each of the three major constitutional forms (*nomoi*), the straight-talking man thrives.

⁵³ Pelling 2002, 133–4.

⁵⁴ For *hybris* and the constitutional debate, Fisher 1992, 127–128, 346–349.

a clear intratextual reference to the Persian legal experts' 'discovery' of the *nomos* allowing the king to act in any manner he pleased, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἄν βούληται, and a thinly veiled critique of the jurisconsults who legalised rule by fiat. For Otanes, it is a system that would put even the hypothetical 'best of men' outside of customary thoughts, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων, thus corrupting the individual from the inside out.⁵⁵ Otanes again refers to 3.31, this time with an intratextual nod to the motivation that led Cambyses to request a *nomos* from the Persian experts, knowing 'that he did not have in mind what was customary', ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν. In lodging his most damning criticism of the constitution, Otanes rejects the constitutional position of the monarch and reverses the verdict of the jurisconsults. On his historical reading, the king disturbs ancestral *nomaia*, customs, νόμαί τε κινέει πάτρια (3.80.5). To this he opposes the 'fairest name', *isonomiē*.⁵⁶ Otanes' use of *isonomiē* here rather than the more readily obvious opposition to monarchy, *demokratia*, has perplexed modern scholars.⁵⁷ Yet, equality before the law mandates accountability (ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχήν) and removes the potential for justification of transgression through *nomos*. Monarchy fosters an uneven application of *nomos* and even permits the ruler to disregard it entirely. Otanes rejects this constitutional form on these grounds and rhetorically drives this home by defining its opposition as *isonomiē*. Equality before the law curtails individualist legality more appropriately than *demokratia*. Thus, in his critique of one-man rule, Otanes reasserts the force of traditional Persian morality and disowns the paradox that had justified Cambyses' actions.

Darius, the future king of Persia, appropriately gives the third speech, in favour of monarchy. In its conclusion, Darius indirectly challenges Otanes' assessment of the constitution with a sophistic reversal that reasserts the controversial position of the king:

55 On this passage, Stroheker 1953–4, 395–6.

56 The meaning of *isonomiē* has sparked much discussion, cf. Vlastos 1953, 1964; Pleket 1972, 63–81; Raaflaub 1985; Ostwald 1969; Giraudeau 1984; Farrar 1988.

57 For this passage, Lateiner 1989, 185–186. Vlastos' theory 1964, 3, is that δημοκρατία was not available in Herodotus' day as a term; Stier 1928, 234, notes the connection between the statement and the scholion of the tyrannicides, ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποησάτην. Cf. also Pl. *Resp.* 8.558c. Brannan 1969, 432–3 and Kinzl 1978, 120, 124, both argue that Otanes does not refer to democracy. Pelling 2002, 137, '[I]n the later narrative the antithesis to Persian tyranny will typically be, not democracy, but something else, something which embraces Greek states which are not at all democratic but in many cases could still be called "isonomic" – states, indeed, such as Sparta'.

I give my vote that, as we were freed by one man, so we should keep this freedom through one man; apart from this, we should not abolish any of our ancestral laws that are sound. It would not be better.

ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρίς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.⁵⁸

Herodotus 3.82.5

Darius' finale goes back to the *aitia* of Persian freedom, Cyrus. He had made himself monarch over the Median Astyages and established hereditary Persian rule. His use of the verb *περιστέλλειν* is the same as that used by the legal experts in the context of their *justification* of their new *nomos*: οὕτω οὐτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσην, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες παρεξῆυρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον (3.31.5). Darius' second injunction, not to 'dissolve ancestral *nomos*' (πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν) of monarchy also corresponds to the juriconsults' desire to maintain Persian *nomos* so as not to suffer punishment from Cambyses, οὕτω οὐτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν.⁵⁹ Darius' speech subtly recodes the language of this justification of the regal *nomos* into a broader endorsement of kingship on the basis of tradition and conservatism. He revises Otanes' νόμια πάτρια, translating them from traditional ethical behaviour into traditional regal power. The naturalisation of monarchy as Persian tradition places those in opposition to it in the position of disturbing *nomos*. It is a shrewd rebuttal of Otanes' statement.⁶⁰ Through the juxtaposition of the two Persian grandees and the ultimate success of Darius' reading of Persian ancestral *nomos*, the narrative again thematises the justification of monarchical violence through

58 Differently, Redfield 1987, 252. Darius doesn't address Otanes' problems with monarchy, e.g. Stoheker 1954, 386, 'In den Darlegungen des Dareios vermißt man vor allem die Wiederaufnahme eines Problems, dessen Behandlung nach den Angriffen des Otanes unbedingt vorausgesetzt werden müsste, nämlich das der sittlichen Grundlagen des idealen Herrschertums'; Thompson 1987, 76.

59 For similar anxiety of the dissolution of *nomoi*, 1.29; 6.106. Erbse 1992, 57–58.

60 It does not necessarily command acceptance, *contra* Evans 1961, 111, who treats Cyrus as a just lawgiver in the vein of Solon and Lycurgus on the strength of this passage, 'Cyrus established *nomoi* for the Persians.' Stoheker 1953–4, 396, 'Dennoch rückt schon hier das Problem Herrschertum und Nomos nahe, dessen volle Bedeutung allerdings erst in der weiteren Ausgestaltung der staatstheoretischen Diskussion sichtbar wird.' Also noted by Lateiner 1984, 263. *Contra* Redfield 1985, 116, 'The hereditary *nomos* of the Persians is monarchy (3.82.5), whereas the Greeks enjoy free institutions.'

nomos. The fact that the future Great King is doing the justification heightens the dramatic effect.⁶¹

Taken together, these two speeches are a fitting retrospective of Cambyses' kingship.⁶² Otanes signals the monarch's transgression of *nomos* in a manner reminiscent of Pindar's critiques of Heracles' actions in fr. 169a. Monarchy in Persia is characterised as violent and unjust. Darius justifies this on the grounds of *nomos* alone, reaffirming the principle that *nomos* is king. Just as Heracles was sanctioned, so too is the constitutional position of one-man rule. Interpreted either as custom or legal tenet, *nomos* sanctifies the constitution of kingship, bloody as it is. Crucially, it is Darius' reading of Persian history that proves convincing to the conspirators, rather than Otanes'.⁶³ Following the seven's decision in favour of Darius' sentiments, the reinstated monarchy becomes fossilised as one of Persia's 'traditional *nomoi*',⁶⁴ making Darius – for the second time in the narrative – proof of the statement that *nomos* is king.⁶⁵ In Persia, however, the king is also *nomos*.⁶⁶

5 Conclusions

In this essay I have attempted to argue that Herodotus' appropriation of Pindar's lyric at 3.38 must be interpreted alongside fragment 169a. If we juxtapose the

61 Rood 2006, 300, connects this manipulation of *nomos* to his willingness to tell lies or speak the truth according to his own advantage, 3.72.4.

62 Lateiner 1984, 260, 'this debate reveals again Herodotus' interest in limits, the role of *nomos* as normative and as positive law.'

63 Erbse 1961; Thompson 1996, for the success of Darius' speech; *pace* Flory 1987, 21, this does not suggest the historian endorses this regime as best.

64 Is this predetermined? Stroheker 1953–4, 384: 'Der Sieg der monarchischen Auffassung erscheint im Bericht Herodots vorgezeichnet durch den weiteren Gang der Ereignisse, durch die geschichtlich feststehende Tatsache der Thronbesteigung des Dareios.'

65 Pelling 2002, 150, argues brilliantly for the compatibility of the permanence of tyranny (Darius) and the transience of the tyrant (Cambyses). I am not persuaded by the arguments of Thompson 1996, 72, 'Darius succeeds because he masters the peremptory rhetoric of a Great King', which seems to beg the question. The further statement, at 72, that '[t]he appeal of Darius is in his ability to describe his best alternative as the conventional one', neglects the fact that Otanes too has described the problem of kingship as one of disturbing *nomos*.

66 A similar moment of constitutional fluidity is found in the birth of the Median empire; after their revolt from Assyria the Medes are briefly *autonomoi* before falling back into (elected) tyranny under Deioces, 1.96.1, ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὐτίς ἐξ τυραννίδα περιῆλθον.

texts, it becomes clear that the historian uses the verse as a foil for a broader interrogation of the poetics of violence and power in Persia during the reigns of Cambyses and beyond. The historian's deft manipulation of melic poetry for the purposes of illuminating historical truths is in keeping with the recent contextualization of Herodotus as a *sophos* in his own right.⁶⁷ Equally, it moves beyond treating the historian as refined solely in the literary criticism of Homeric poetry to reveal a broader set of interpretative and compositional tools the historian has at his disposal. Herodotus engages with Pindar's ambiguity and paradox in the figure of Cambyses, and he does this in order to shed light on the complex nature of one-man rule and popular morality in Persia. Accordingly, Cambyses represents both opposition to and justification through *nomos*, a paradox highlighted in a constitutional clarification that takes place during Cambyses' attempted marriage to his sister and then at the close of his reign in the context of the proof of his madness at 3.38. It is further highlighted at the fraught moment of potential constitutional change from monarchy, through the speeches of Otanes and Darius, who replay the Pindaric paradox, which results in the success of Darius and the continuance of the problematic song of Persian kingship.

67 See Grintser, this volume. Cf. Fowler 1996; Thomas 2000. For Herodotus' philosophising successors and this fragment, see the seventeen-book allegorising life of Heracles by the late fifth-century mythographer Herodorus of Heracleia at *FGrH* 31 F3, where Heracles kills a boy who has offered him water to wash his hands. The *sophos* provocatively names the boy *Eunomos* (elsewhere he is Archias or Cherias, cf. *Ath.* 9.401f), which presumably hints at the conflict between Heracles and *eunomia*. Callicles' discussion at *Pl. Gorg.* 484a-c is also notable. It arises as an *argumentum ad verecundiam* for his thesis of natural justice – an inverted moralism. Only *nomoi* found in nature – in the animal kingdom and international politics where the strong dominate the weak and the better the worse – are in fact just. Callicles plays on Pindar's metaphorical language of νόμος as ὁ βασιλεύς, and hypostasises the king. It is of interest for our purposes that the historical *exempla* of such despotism are on Callicles' reading *Persian kings*; namely, Xerxes and Darius, see *Pl. Gorg.* 483d.

P. J. Finglass

Sophocles' Oedipus and Herodotus' Periander

In a classic article, 'From Oedipus to Periander: lameness, tyranny, incest in legend and history', published more than three decades ago in *Arethusa*,¹ Jean-Pierre Vernant focuses on what he calls the 'strange parallelism in the destiny of the Labdacids of legendary Thebes and of the Cypselids of historical Corinth'.² The basic similarities in the infancy stories of Oedipus and Cypselus are well-known. Both are nearly killed shortly after their birth on the orders of people who, according to a prophecy, are doomed if the baby grows to manhood; yet in each case the killers shrink from the murder out of pity for the child, thereby allowing the prophecy to be fulfilled.³ Oedipus and Cypselus' son Periander are both involved in struggles within the family, in Periander's case with his son, in Oedipus' with his father; Vernant daringly assimilates the punishments that they both inflict as a result of these conflicts.⁴ Both Periander and Oedipus engage in deviant sexual behaviour.⁵ And both families are associated with lameness: Cypselos is the son of Labda, Oedipus the grandson of Labdacus, and both these names derive from the archaic letter lambda which had one 'leg' shorter than the other.⁶ Labda in Herodotus is specifically said to be lame, and Oedipus' 'swollen feet' as a result of their piercing when he was a baby must be an old feature of his story, built as it is into his very name.⁷ Vernant uses these connections to argue that 'in the Greek "imagination" the figure of the tyrant, as it is sketched out in the fifth and fourth centuries, adopts the features of the legendary hero, at once elect and

I am most grateful to Dr Almut Fries for helping me with a point in the translation of a German passage, below.

1 Vernant 1982 = Buxton 2000, 109–29; on this topic, see also Gentili 1986.

2 Vernant 1982, 33 = Buxton 2000, 128.

3 *Ibid.* 28–9 = 121–3. For the significance of pity in both stories – an issue not discussed by Vernant – see Finglass 2018, on 216–275.

4 Vernant 1982, 32 = Buxton 2000, 126: 'Periander banishes his son, like a *φαρμακός*, to Corcyra, far from his eyes (*ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται*). The tyrant does not stab out his eyes in order to see no more, like Oedipus; he rejects his son so as to see him no more.'

5 In Periander's case, his stripping of the women of Corinth (Hdt. 5.92η.3), on which see Johnson 2001, 18–19.

6 Robert 1915, 1.59, Delcourt 1938, 110–11, 1944, 16–22, Jameson 1986, 4 = 2014, 187–8 (who notes that the upturned Boeotian lambda would not have the same symbolism, and thus that the name Labdakos cannot have a Theban origin; he suggests it may be Corinthian).

7 Vernant's view that Laius derives from *λάϊφος* 'left', and thus 'crooked' (1982, 22–3 = Buxton 2000, 114), is however doubtful; the derivation from *λάφος* 'people' (cf. Latin *Publius*), is more likely (thus Jameson 1986, 10 n. 34 = 2014, 196 n. 28).

cursed ... Despising the rules which preside over the ordering of the social fabric ... the tyrant ... incarnates in his ambivalence the mythic figure of the lame man'.⁸

Vernant shows little interest, however, in the instantiations of the myth in the literary works which, together with the pictorial record, provide our sources for ancient Greek mythology. He sometimes takes details crucial to his argument from texts centuries apart, without considering whether such an approach might be problematic;⁹ and although sometimes a later source preserves evidence for an earlier version, the possibility must always be considered that the detail in question results merely from later elaboration.¹⁰ There are exceptions to this tendency – Vernant emphasises, for example, that Periander's sleeping with his mother is preserved in a later source and so cannot be considered part of Herodotus' tale.¹¹ But when dealing with the Oedipus myth in particular he culls details from many places without showing interest in any particular version, not even the most famous one, by Herodotus' contemporary Sophocles, who is mentioned only once in the entire paper, and that in passing.¹²

In this chapter I will be focusing not on some original or primary version of either myth, but on a more modest goal: on the presentation of the myth in Sophocles and Herodotus, and in particular on something that Vernant does not mention, the issuing of a solemn proclamation of excommunication by Oedipus and by Periander. This element of both stories shows remarkable similarities; equally there are crucial differences, and reflecting on these can help to bring out the authors' distinct literary aims.¹³

8 Vernant 1982, 33–4 = Buxton 2000, 128–9.

9 See the criticisms of Lloyd-Jones 1985, 167–71 = 1991, 184–7, who points to e.g. the detail, discussed by Vernant 1982, 24 = Buxton 2000, 115–16, that the Sphinx is Laius' illegitimate daughter, the earliest evidence for which Vernant cites is in Pausanias (9.26.3–5).

10 Cf. Bremmer 1987a, 42 'Historical and linguistic knowledge remains indispensable, even in a structuralist approach ... In Greek mythology, ... a chronological determination of the various motifs must ... always be attempted.'

11 Vernant 1982, 29–30 = Buxton 2000, 123–4. The detail appears first in Diog. Laert. 1.96; see further Parth. *Erot. Path.* 17 with Lightfoot 1999, 484–6.

12 Vernant 1982, 20 = Buxton 2000, 110–11.

13 Cf. Saïd 2002, 127 'the dissimilarities [sc. between Oedipus and Cypselus] are as obvious as the similarities'. The earliest association of the proclamations known to me is that of Wesseling 1758, 221 on Hdt. 3.51: 'ceterum a Periandri edicto Oedipi verba ap. *Sophoclem* Oed. Tyr. v. 347 μητ' εἰσδέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα non abirent multum, ni uberiorem ea quae sequuntur, sanctionem complecterentur.' More recent works that refer to it include Aly 1921, 95 = 1969, 95, Stern 1991, 309–10, and Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 176 n. 82 = 1991, 276–7 n. 82 ('this similarity has not hitherto been placed, as I think it should, in the wider context of "father-son conflict", the basic schema to which both Oedipous' and Lykophron's stories belong'); Boedeker 2002, 112–

Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* begins with a supplication of Oedipus by the people of his city, who are afflicted by a plague of mysterious origin. He learns from the Delphic oracle that to cure this disease, he must punish, by execution or banishment, the killers of the former king Laius. Prompted by that oracle, at the start of the second scene of the play he issues a formal proclamation setting out what the killer should do, and what the community should do if he does not. Below I quote the proclamation in full, one of the more difficult speeches in our tragic corpus; I provide my own text and translation, the justifications for which can be found in my commentary on the play.¹⁴

Οἱ αἰτεῖς· ἃ δ' αἰτεῖς, τᾶμ' ἐὰν θέλῃς ἔπη	216
κλύων δέχεσθαι τῇ νόσῳ θ' ὑπηρετεῖν,	
ἀλκὴν λάβοις ἂν κἀνακούφισιν κακῶν·	
ἀγὼ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐξερῶ,	
ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν	220
ἵχνευσον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.	
νῦν δ', ὕστερος γὰρ ἀστὸς εἰς ἀστούς τε λῶ,	
ὕμῃν προφωνῶ πᾶσι Καδμείοις τάδε·	
ὅστις ποθ' ὑμῶν Λαῖον τὸν Λαβδάκου	
κάτοιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο,	225
τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί·	
κεῖ μὲν φοβεῖται τοῦπικλημ' ὑπεξελών	
<x—v—x—v—x—v—>	
αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ· πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν	
ἀστεργὲς οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἅπεισιν ἀβλαβής.	
εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν ἐξ ἄλλης χθονὸς	230
τὸν αὐτόχειρα, μὴ σιωπάτω· τὸ γὰρ	
κέρδος τε λῶ ἔγω γῆ χάρις προσκείσεται.	
εἰ δ' αὖ σιωπήσεσθε, καὶ τις ἡ φίλου	
δείσας ἀπώσσει τοῦπος ἢ χαῦτοῦ τόδε,	
ἄκ τῶνδε δράσω, ταῦτα χρὴ κλυεῖν ἐμοῦ.	235
τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπαυδῶ τοῦτον, ὅστις ἐστί, γῆς	
τῆσδ', ἣς ἐγὼ κράτη τε καὶ θρόνους νέμω,	
μήτ' ἐσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινά,	
μήτ' ἐν θεῶν εὐχαῖσι μήτε θύμασιν	

14 examines the relationship between myth and history in Herodotus' account. According to Gray 1996, 376, 'the substitution of banishment for killing in the story of Lycophron represents that story's own adaptation to the theme of revenge and the desolate household, because the heir must eventually be killed by the Corcyreans'; but this underplays how meaningful the theme of banishment turns out to be within Herodotus' story.

14 Finglass 2018, *ad loc.*; also 2006, 260–1.

κοινὸν ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε χέρνιβος νέμειν· 240
 ὠθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων πάντας, ὡς μιάσματος
 τοῦδ' ἡμῖν ὄντος, ὡς τὸ Πυθικὸν θεοῦ
 μαντεῖον ἐξέφηνεν ἀρτίως ἐμοί.
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοιόσδε τῷ τε δαίμονι
 τῷ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ θανόντι σύμμαχος πέλω. 245
 [κατεύχομαι δὲ τὸν δεδρακότ', εἴτε τις
 εἰς ὧν λέληθεν εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα,
 κακὸν κακῶς νιν ἄμοιρον ἐκτρίψαι βίον.
 ἐπεύχομαι δ', οἴκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος
 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ ξυνειδότος, 250
 παθεῖν ἄπερ τοῖσδ' ἀρτίως ἡρασάμην.]
 ὑμῖν δὲ ταῦτα πάντ' ἐπισκῆπτω τελεῖν,
 ὑπέρ τ' ἐμαυτοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ τε, τῆσδέ τε
 γῆς ὧδ' ἀκάρπως κἀθέως ἐφθαρμένης.
 οὐδ' εἰ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πράγμα μὴ θεήλατον, 255
 ἀκάθαρτον ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἦν οὕτως ἔαν
 ἀνδρός γ' ἀριστεύς βασιλέως τ' ὀλωλότος,
 ἀλλ' ἐξερευνᾶν· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ κυρῷ τ' ἐγὼ
 ἔχων μὲν ἀρχάς, ἃς ἐκείνος εἶχε πρίν,
 ἔχων δὲ λέκτρα καὶ γυναῖχ' ὁμόσπορον, 260
 κοινῶν τε παίδων κοῖν' ἄν, εἰ κείνῳ γένος
 μὴ 'δυστύχησεν, ἣν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα –
 νῦν δ' ἐς τὸ κείνου κρᾶτ' ἐνήλαθ' ἡ τύχη·
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγὼ τάδ' ὥσπερ εἰ τοῦμοῦ πατρός
 ὑπερμαχοῦμαι κάπῃ πάντ' ἀφίξομαι 265
 ζητῶν τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ φόνου λαβεῖν
 τῷ Λαβδακείῳ παιδὶ Πολυδώρου τε καὶ
 τοῦ πρόσθε Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι τ' Ἀγήνορος.
 καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν εὐχομαι θεοὺς
 μὴτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀνιέναι τινὰ 270
 μὴτ' οὖν γυναικῶν παῖδας, ἀλλὰ τῷ πότμῳ
 τῷ νῦν φθερεῖσθαι κᾶτι τοῦδ' ἐχθίονι.
 ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Καδμείοις, ὅσοις
 τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκονθ', ἧ τε σύμμαχος Δίκη
 χοὶ πάντες εὐ ξυνεῖεν εἰσαεῖ θεοί. 275

You make a request. As for the nature of that request, if you are willing to receive my words as you hear them and to minister to the disease, you may acquire a defence against, and a relief from, your troubles. I will speak them as a stranger to this story, a stranger to the deed – for I would not be investigating far into the past on my own if I did not have some connection. As it is, since at a later date I am enrolled as a citizen among citizens, this is what I proclaim to you, to all the Cadmaeans. Whosoever of you knows the man by whom Laius the son of Labdacus was killed, I order him to tell me the whole story. And if he is afraid that, removing the charge ... himself against himself; for he will suffer nothing else unpleasant, but will depart from the land unharmed. But if anyone knows that the killer is a different person from a different land, let him not be silent; for I will pay the reward, and

gratitude will be added to that. But if you are silent, and if anyone rejects these my words out of fear for a friend or for himself, you must hear me say what I will do as a consequence. As for this man, whoever he is, I forbid anyone from this land, whose authority and throne I hold, to receive him into his home or to address him, or to make him a fellow-participant in prayers to the gods or in sacrifices, or to give him his allotment of sacred water. Rather, I command everyone to drive him from their homes, since this man is the cause of our pollution, as the god's Pythian oracle has just revealed to me. Such an ally am I for the god and for the dead man. [I pray that the perpetrator, whether he is a single person in hiding, or whether he did it as part of a larger group, will, as a wretch, wretchedly rub out his life, without his due portion. And I pray that if he were to share my hearth in my home with my knowledge, that I should suffer what I have just prayed for these people.] I solemnly charge you to accomplish all these things, on my behalf, on behalf of the god, and on behalf of this land, which has wasted away, abandoned by crops and abandoned by the gods. For even if the affair had not been forced on us by divinity, it was not reasonable that you should have let the matter lie carelessly, unpurified when a man who was a noble and a king had been killed – no, you should have sought it out. As it is, since it has turned out that I possess the power that he held before, and possess his bed and the wife who shares our seed, and since a share in shared children, if offspring had not failed for him, would have been generated – but as it is, fate leaped onto that man's head. Because of this, I will pursue this fight as if it were on behalf of my own father, and will go to every length as I seek to capture the perpetrator of the killing, on behalf of the son of Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, descendent of old Cadmus and of ancient Agenor. And for those who do not do these things, I pray that the gods do not produce any crops from their land, nor indeed children from their women, but rather that they will be destroyed by their present fate and by one even more hateful than this. But for you, the rest of the Cadmeians, for whom these things are pleasing, may Justice our ally and all the gods be with you always.

Soph. *OT* 216–75

A ruler's proclamation cutting off an offender from human contact reappears in Herodotus' account of Periander and his son Lycophron.¹⁵ Periander had beaten to death his wife Melissa, by whom he had had two sons, an elder, unnamed son, slow of intellect, and the younger, Lycophron. When their maternal grandfather, Procles of Epidaurus, was sending them back to their father after a visit to him, he asked if they knew who killed their mother. The elder son took no notice of the question, but the younger evidently concluded from it that Periander was responsible. So after his return to Corinth, Lycophron, enraged, persistently refused to speak to his father. As a result Periander eventually drove him out of his house. On learning the cause of Lycophron's silence from his brother, Periander went further, sending a messenger to any people giving shelter to Lycophron to order them to desist. Lycophron consequently passed from one house to the next, until

15 Hdt. 3.50–3.

finally Periander issued a solemn proclamation excommunicating him from human society:

ὁ Περίαςδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένον, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοιῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο.

Periander made a proclamation that whoever received him into his home or conversed with him would owe a penalty sacred to Apollo, stating the amount. So thanks to this proclamation nobody was willing to converse with him or to receive him into his house. Moreover, not even Lycophron himself thought it right to make the attempt, since he had been excommunicated, but he put up with rolling in the porticoes.

Hdt. 3.52.1–2

Periander now confronted his son, all but admitting his own guilt, and begging him to return; but Lycophron replied simply that he now owed a fine to Apollo. Realising that the cause was hopeless, the tyrant arranged for Lycophron to be taken to Corcyra, out of his sight. Years later, Periander attempted to persuade his son to return to Corinth to take over the tyranny from him; but first a messenger, and then the boy's own sister, failed to persuade him to return to his father's presence. Eventually Periander proposed that Lycophron should come to Corinth and he, Periander, should depart for Corcyra; Lycophron agreed to this, but before the plan could be put into effect, the Corcyrans, not wanting to have Periander to deal with at close hand, murdered his son to prevent the swap.

Given the similarities between Oedipus and the Cypselid family identified by Vernant, the prominence of proclamations in both their stories is intriguing. Before we discuss them in more detail, however, it is well to emphasise that issuing decrees of excommunication was not merely the prerogative of long-dead kings, but something familiar in an Athenian civic context; I say 'Athenian' because that is the civic context about which we happen to be best informed, although nothing ties the process to any one Greek state in particular, and if we knew more about the internal politics of Sicyon or Corinth, say, no doubt we would find references to it there too. The Athenian evidence, at least, goes back to at least the time of Draco:

ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς περὶ τούτων νόμοις ὁ Δράκων φοβερὸν κατασκευάζων καὶ δεινὸν τό τιν' αὐτόχειρα ἄλλον ἄλλου γίνεσθαι, καὶ γράφων χέρνιβος εἴργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, σπονδῶν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς, πάντα τᾶλλα διελθῶν οἷς μάλιστ' ἂν τινας ᾤετ' ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφείλετο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἔθηκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτινύναι, κἂν οὕτω τις δράσῃ, καθαρὸν διώρισεν εἶναι.

Therefore in his laws concerning these things [sc. murders], Dracon, making it a fearful and terrible thing for one person to become the murderer of another, and writing that the murderer should be deprived of holy water, of libations, of mixing-bowls, of sacrifices, of the agora, and going through all the other things through which he thought that he would restrain people from doing anything of this sort, nevertheless did not take away due process, but established the conditions by which it was permitted to commit homicide, and if someone behaved in this way, he ordained that he would be pure.

Dem. 20.158¹⁶

Such regulations were also in force in the fifth and fourth centuries, as the following selection of passages demonstrates:

ἔτι δὲ παρελθὼν τὸν νόμον ὃν ὑμεῖς ἔθεσθε, εἵργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀλιτήριον ὄντα, ταῦτα πάντα βιασάμενος εἰσελήλυθεν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔθυσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ὧν οὐκ ἔξῃν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὴντα τοῖς ἱεροῖς περὶ ᾧ ἡσέβησεν, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐχερνίψατο ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς χέρνιβος.

Still breaking the law which you established, that he should be deprived of sacrifices as being an offender, doing violence to all this he entered our city, and sacrificed on the altars which he was not permitted to do and he went to meet the sanctuaries with regard to which he had committed his impiety, came into the Eleusinion, washed himself with the holy water.

Lys. 6.52¹⁷

ἐὰν δέ τις τὸν ἀνδροφόνον κτείνῃ ἢ αἴτιος ᾗ φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι, διαγιγνώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέτας.

If someone kills a murderer or is responsible for his death, he should be kept away from the border agora and the Amphictyonic games and rites, just as someone who killed an Athenian, and subject to the same penalties; the *ephetai* should make the decision.

Dem. 23.37 = IG i³ 104.26–9¹⁸

λαγχάνονται ... καὶ αἱ τοῦ φόνου δίκαι πᾶσαι πρὸς τοῦτον, καὶ ὁ προαγορεύων εἵργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων οὗτός ἐστιν

Cases involving murder fall to the lot of this man [i.e. the archon basileus], and he is the person who proclaims excommunication from customary rites.

[Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 57.2

16 On this passage, see Kremmydas 2012, *ad loc.*

17 The asyndeton in the last line gives the description of the offence particular force.

18 On this text (where Demosthenes has been used to restore the IG text), see Canevaro 2013, 55–8.

κατελθὼν δὲ ὅ τι τοιοῦτον δράσας, τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἱερῶν μὴ κοινωνεῖτω μηδὲ ὁμοτράπεζος γιγνέσθω ποτέ.

When he returns after committing an act of this kind [i.e. when a spouse-killer returns from the designated period of exile], let him not share in sacrifices with his own children nor let him ever share a table with them.

Pl. *Leg.* 868e

Excommunication could also be an informal sanction on the part of a community against offenders of various types – something that underlies this passage of Sophocles:

ἄπολις ὅτῳ τὸ μὴ καλὸν
ξύνεστι τόλμας χάριν.
μήτ' ἐμοὶ παρέστιος
γένοιτο μήτ' ἴσον φρονῶν
ὅς τὰδ' ἔρδοι.

Citiless is the man who consorts with what is not noble thanks to his boldness. Let that man never share my hearth or share my thoughts, whoever should do such things!

Soph. *Ant.* 370/1–375

Such passages might be more closely connected with civic acts of excommunication than at first appears; as Parker argues, ‘there are historical instances of public malefactors being subjected to what appears at first sight to be a spontaneous social ostracism, but could be a survival of a more formal earlier institution’.¹⁹

Nor is *Oedipus the King* the only tragedy which makes use of a formal excommunication. We also find one in Euripides’ *Orestes*, where Orestes, Pylades, and Electra are deprived of human contact ahead of the trial that will determine their fate, as described in these passages, the former spoken by Orestes, the latter by Tyndareus:²⁰

ἔδοξε δ' Ἀργεὶ τῷδε μήθ' ἡμᾶς στέγαις,
μὴ πυρὶ δέχεσθαι, μηδὲ προσφωνεῖν τινα
μητροκτονούντας· κυρία δ' ἦδ' ἡμέρα
ἐν ᾗ διοίσει ψῆφον Ἀργείων πόλις,
εἰ χρὴ θανεῖν νῶ λευσίμῳ πετρώματι.

¹⁹ Thus Parker 1983, 194 citing, in n. 17, Hdt. 7.231, Lys. 13.79, and other texts.

²⁰ For these passages, see Melis 2015, who sets them in the judicial context described above.

It was decided by this land of Argos that no-one should receive us under his roof or at his hearth, and that no-one should speak to us, since we are matricides; this is the appointed day on which the city of the Argives will cast its vote on whether we must die by stoning.

Eur. *Or.* 46–50

καλῶς ἔθεντο ταῦτα πατέρες οἱ πάλοι·
 ἐς ὀμμάτων μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶων περᾶν
 οὐδ' εἰς ἀπάντημ' ὅστις αἶμ' ἔχων κυροῖ,
 φυγαῖσι δ' ὅσιον, ἀνταποκτείνειν δὲ μή.

Our fathers established these things well. Whoever had the taint of blood, they did not allow him to come into people's sight or to encounter anyone, but they restored purity by exile, but did not allow him to be killed.

Ibid. 512–15

The *Orestes* excommunication takes place in a democratic context – indeed, it is presented as the result of a vote by the Argives as a whole, and thus formally more democratic than the Athenian instances cited above, where such proclamations are usually pronounced by a magistrate acting on the people's behalf.

The passages just cited indicate that the very act of issuing such a proclamation is not in itself tyrannical or overbearing – rather, it was a feature familiar to Greeks of this period. The next question is how the proclamations by Oedipus and Periander put this feature to use. In their treatments it is not hard to observe prominent similarities. In both cases the proclamation is issued by an all-powerful ruler; in both cases it is aimed at cutting off an offender from all human intercourse. The offence that has given rise to the proclamation in both cases derives from an act of violence within the family, and in particular a son's defiance of his father. The proclamation in both cases rebounds onto the proclaimer, who breaks the very proclamation that he had so publicly pronounced; he thereby causes himself to be subject to its penalties, in each case a penalty owed to Apollo.²¹ And in both cases the proclaimer unwittingly causes the death of a close family member.

Let us leave, for the moment, the question of whether either Herodotus or Sophocles was aware of the other's work. For now, let us examine the two proclamations in greater detail, to tease out the differences between these formally similar acts and thus better to appreciate the functions that they play within their respective narratives.

²¹ 'This must be connected with Apollo's function as the god concerned with pollution *par excellence*' (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 176 n. 84 = 1991, 277 n. 84).

First, although both proclamations have their origins in violence within the family, only one proclaimer knows this at the time that the proclamation is delivered. Periander is well aware of the offence that he has committed, having killed his wife, and knows that his proclamation is targeted against his own son. Oedipus, by contrast, regards himself as 'a stranger to this story, a stranger to the deed', entirely unaware both that he is making a proclamation against himself as the killer of Laius, and that Laius was his own father. This reflects a central theme of Sophocles' play, one not important in Herodotus' account of Periander – the frailty of human knowledge. Herodotus, by contrast, focuses on the abuse of power represented by Periander's proclamation – a subject central to the portrayal of tyrants throughout his history.

Second, the scope and limits of the two proclamations are different. Periander's is apparently aimed at the whole of Greece; certainly, there is no indication that Lycophron can escape his father's antagonism merely by going into exile. In this respect the proclamation demonstrates a tyrant's typical overreach. Moreover, it follows a repeated set of interventions whereby Periander orders private citizens not to receive Lycophron into their homes, thereby interfering with their rights as householders;²² and these in turn came after the original harsh punishment meted out to his son, expulsion from the family home. Oedipus, by contrast, allows the killer to go into exile unharmed after incriminating himself, a course which makes a confession more likely and displays his own merciful character. He also carefully specifies that his proclamation applies to the territory within his jurisdiction, thereby acknowledging the limits of his authority. He moreover asserts his right to make the proclamation on the basis of his adopted Theban citizenship, as someone 'enrolled as a citizen among citizens' (222), where the polyptoton emphasises his status as one among many, rather than as a ruler with unique authority. He does possess such authority, as the Prologue demonstrates, and in effect his proclamation shows him exercising it, since no ordinary citizen could make a speech like that and expect people to listen; but tactfully he does not press that point.

In this respect we may also contrast the parallel passages cited above, where excommunication features as a means of isolating people suspected of heinous crimes before they are brought to trial; if convicted, they will suffer the ultimate excommunication, death. In the case of Periander's proclamation, the target has committed no offence, so the isolation of a criminal is not at issue. In Oedipus'

22 Such behaviour recalls that of Eurystheus before the actions of Euripides' *Children of Heracles*, who threatens with the might of Argos each of the cities with which they take refuge (17–25).

speech, excommunication applies to the killer only if he fails to come forward, and, although that penalty is depicted in serious terms, there is no capping reference to any prospect of execution. This difference is partly because there is no prospect of a trial, either; such formal judicial apparatus does not feature within the world of this play. But it is also because Oedipus is being as mild as he is determined in his pursuit of the offender; his passionate desire to discover Laius' killer is based on his love for the city and his consequent wish to fulfil the instructions of the oracle, rather than on any personal lust for vengeance.

This point is worth highlighting since Vernant places considerable emphasis on how Oedipus and Periander are both associated with the connected ideas of lameness and tyranny. Yet the proclamations that the two men utter, through their different styles, rather emphasise different approaches to rulership. Oedipus' behaviour stands as far away from that of the typical tyrant as it is possible to be; Periander's proclamation, on the other hand, is the culmination of a series of unmerited attacks on the liberty of his son and those who want to help him. As far as the portrayal of Oedipus in Sophocles' play goes, then, Vernant's article could scarcely be less persuasive.

This leads naturally to the third difference, the justification for the excommunication. As we have seen from the proclamations from other texts cited above, excommunication was a punishment applied to people suspected of great crimes – sometimes ahead of a trial – because of the danger that, if the person is guilty, he could pollute others by mere association, especially in religious contexts that demanded purity of their participants. Oedipus' proclamation suits that context well, even if an eventual trial is not envisaged; its target is not just a killer, but the killer of a king, who has spurned Oedipus' offer of an easy exile. In Periander's case, by contrast, there is no possibility that the target of the proclamation, Lycophron, could pollute anyone else. Indeed, the polluter in this story is the proclaimer; and the proclamation is aimed not at a polluter, but at the only person in Corinth who seems to have discovered the polluter's guilt. In the words of Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Lykophron is treated as though he had killed Periander',²³ when if anything it should be Lycophron who delivers a proclamation against Periander for the killing of his mother. Sourvinou-Inwood nevertheless goes on to try to fit the events described by Herodotus into the expected schema whereby the object of the proclamation is indeed the offender, arguing that in Lycophron's case, "turning against the father" is symbolically closely related to "killing the father" (p. 177 = p. 260). This misses the irony that the usual roles of

23 Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 177 = 1991, 260.

guilt and innocence are intentionally reversed, with Periander showing the tyrant's capacity to pervert the institutions of justice as well as normal human relationships. The irony in Sophocles' play, by contrast, is of a different order – there too the proclaimer is the polluter, but the proclaimer is tragically unaware of that fact.

Fourth, the breaking of the proclamation by the man who delivers it takes a significantly different form in each account. Oedipus breaks it out of ignorance, as he later remarks;²⁴ again, this befits a tragedy built around the theme of the limitations of human knowledge. Periander breaks it out of desperation, but nevertheless knowingly. He thereby demonstrates the inconsistency of the tyrant – something anticipated by those people who, before the excommunication, gave shelter to Lycophron despite knowing of his quarrel with his father, because he was nevertheless his father's son.²⁵

Fifth, these excommunications by proclamation are not the only ones in either story. Both Sophocles' play and Herodotus' Periander-*logos* contain two voluntary acts of excommunication. In the former, Oedipus as it were excommunicates himself from what he believes to be his homeland, Corinth, when he is told by the Delphic oracle that he is destined to kill his father and marry his mother:

λάθρα δὲ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς πορεύομαι
 Πυθῶδε, καὶ μ' ὁ Φοῖβος ὦν μὲν ἰκόμην
 ἄτιμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ἄλλα δ' ἀθλίῳ
 καὶ δεινὰ καὶ δύσθηνα προὔφάνη λέγων, 790
 ὡς μητρὶ μὲν χρεῖη με μειχθῆναι, γένος δ'
 ἄτλητον ἀνθρώποισι δηλώσοιμ' ὄραν,
 φονεὺς δ' ἑσοίμην τοῦ φυτεύσαντος πατρός.
 κάγῳ 'πακούσας ταῦτα τὴν Κορινθίαν
 ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν τεκμαρούμενος χθόνα 795
 ἔφρευγον, ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην κακῶν
 χρησμῶν ὀνείδη τῶν ἐμῶν τελούμενα.

In secret from my mother and father I travelled to Pytho, and Phoebus sent me away without honouring the purpose for which I had come, but rather he was manifest in speaking other dire, terrible, words to me in my wretchedness, that it was fated that I should have

²⁴ Soph. OT 744–5 οἴμοι τάλας· ἔοικ' ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς | δεινὰς προβάλλων ἀρτίως οὐκ εἰδέναι

('Oimoi, I am wretched! I seem just now to have unwittingly cast myself amid dreadful curses').

²⁵ Compare how the servants of Cambyses, ordered by the king to kill a friend of his, do not carry out the order because they anticipate that he will change his mind; when eventually he does so he is delighted that his friend is alive, but nevertheless executes the servants who disobeyed him (Hdt. 3.36.4–6).

intercourse with my mother, and display an unbearable progeny for mortals to see, and that I would be the murderer of the man who fathered me. And I, on hearing this, went into exile, intending henceforth to infer the position of the land of Corinth by the stars, to a place where I would never see the reproaches of the terrible oracles come true.

Soph. *OT* 787–97

Oedipus knowingly excommunicates himself, departing from his homeland for good; he later remarks on the pain that this involves.²⁶ This excommunication too is based on ignorance; ignorant of who his parents truly are, and therefore of his true homeland, he excommunicates himself from the land into which he was originally 'excommunicated' as a baby, thereby achieving the exact opposite of his intentions.

The additional excommunication in Herodotus' tale involves Lycophron by his silence as it were excommunicating Periander himself. The formal excommunication in that story punishes a guiltless party; but that is merely a response to the informal excommunication, achieved without any formal proclamation on Lycophron's part, and yet one which proves far more effective and durable than the excommunication effected by Periander. For whereas Periander goes on to break the excommunication that he has ordained by going to plead with his son, Lycophron remains implacable, merely pointing out to him the penalty that his speech has automatically incurred; he maintains his own, informal excommunication of his father to the last. The double excommunication in Sophocles emphasises the ignorance of the protagonist; in Herodotus, by contrast, it highlights the paradoxical weakness of the almighty tyrant.

All these differences allow a better appreciation of what Sophocles and Herodotus are trying to achieve in their respective tales; Vernant's influential paper had emphasised only what the myths had in common, but divergences too have their significance. But one similarity remains that has not so far been remarked on: the essentially tragic nature of both stories. Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* was of course seen as a paradigmatic tragedy even in antiquity. Calling the story of Periander a tragedy requires more justification, in that he brings his doom upon himself through his own tyrannical behaviour, in particular the killing of his wife and the persecution of his son. Yet even so he remains a wretched, even sympathetic figure, as his exchange with his son demonstrates:

²⁶ Soph. *OT* 997–9 ὥν οὐνεχ' ἡ Κόρινθος ἐξ ἐμοῦ πάλαι | μακρὰν ἀπωκεῖτ'· εὐτυχῶς μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως | τὰ τῶν τεκόντων ὄμμαθ' ἡδιστον βλέπειν ('Because of this, Corinth for a long time has been kept far separate from me. It was for a good end, but nevertheless it is most pleasant to look upon the eyes of one's parents').

τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλυσίῃσιν τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτιρε· ὑπεῖς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦε ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερά ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἔόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν; ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἴλευ, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμέ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτός σφεα ἐξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκία.”

Seeing him on the fourth day fallen amid filth and hunger Periander had pity on him. Departing from his anger, he came closer to him and said ‘My son, which of these is preferable, doing what you are doing now, or to inherit the monarchy and good things that I now have by being accommodating to your father, you who although you are my son and a prince of wealthy Corinth have chosen the life of a beggar, keeping your distance and indulging in anger against the person whom you ought not to most of all. For if any misfortune in such matters has occurred from which you have suspicion against me, the same has happened to me and I am a sharer in it to a greater extent, to the degree that I myself actually carried out the deeds. But you learn how much better it is to be envied than to be pitied, and at the same time what a thing it is to be angry against your parents and those more powerful than you, and come back home.’

Hdt. 3.52.3–5

Periander’s words are to an extent tendentious; such emphasis on the family bond between father and son (especially ‘indulging in anger against the person whom you ought not to most of all’) hardly suits a man who had killed his own wife, the mother of that son. Moreover, his admission of responsibility is half-hearted; and the final words ‘what a thing it is to be angry against your parents and those more powerful than you’ contain a not-so-veiled threat by reminding Lycophron of his authority. The reference to envy being preferable to pity, itself a commonplace,²⁷ is out of place in a speech that shows the unenviable consequences of a tyrant’s actions. Nevertheless, these are moving words that show that even a tyrant can be affected by pity (something confirmed by the narrator) and demonstrate the impact of Periander’s actions on the man himself. And although the reader or listener may understand why, despite this speech, Lycophron still refuses to address his father, or rather answers him with a curt response worse than silence, that response may nevertheless create some pity in Herodotus’ audience even for Periander. His subsequent decision to hand control of his empire to his son, his willingness to exchange Corinth for Corcyra to secure the transition of power, and his vengeance on the Corcyreans for compassing

27 Cf. Pind. *P.* 1.85.

Lycophron's death all testify, in their way, to a father's paternal devotion. Herodotus has so constructed his tale that it is hard not to feel any sympathy for the catastrophes that envelop Periander, even though they are ultimately caused by his own wrongheadedness, and as a result the adjective tragic would not be misapplied.

The Oedipus story is not the only relevant tragic comparandum for Herodotus' account of Periander. It recalls also the relationship between Clytemnestra and Electra in Sophocles' *Electra*, a play probably later than his *Oedipus the King* and almost certainly from after Herodotus' lifetime.²⁸ As in Herodotus, a child declines a life of luxury through refusal to come to any accommodation with a parent who had killed their other parent; as in Herodotus, the defiant behaviour of that child is contrasted with that of a more accommodating sibling of the same gender. In *Electra* there is no question of a proclamation banning anyone from associating with Electra, since she remains in front of her house to torture her father's killers with her cries; but the possibility is raised that, if she does not desist, she will be buried alive underground, a fate that she purports to welcome (372–91).

In the case of *Electra* there is no question that Herodotus was influenced by Sophocles; but what about for *Oedipus the King*? The question was discussed nearly a century ago by Wolfgang Aly:

Für Hdt legt der Bann, den König Oidipus über den unbekannten Mörder ausspricht (V. 236ff.), die Vermutung nahe, daß der Sohn den Vater wie einen gebannten Mörder behandelt, sodaß der Bann des Vaters nur die Antwort auf dies Benehmen wäre. Das führt auf B [a stage defined on pp. 93–4 as 'Der Vater ächtet seinen Sohn ob seines Schweigens und wird, da er ihn voll Mitleid anspricht, von seinem eigenen Bann getroffen'], wo dieser in seinem eigenen Wort gefangen wird. So verflucht sich unwissend Oidipus selbst (V. 350). Das Motiv ist von Sophokles in die Oidipussage eingeführt, daß es Hdt von Sophokles habe, ist chronologisch sogut wie unmöglich. Eher ist das Umgekehrte der Fall, wie ja der König Oidipus auch sonst die Bekanntschaft mit Hdt's Werk zeigt. So wird auch verständlich, daß das Motiv bei Hdt viel nebensächlicher behandelt ist als in der Tragödie, wo es in den Mittelpunkt der Katastrophe gestellt ist.

For Herodotus the exclusion order that King Oedipus delivers in the case of the unknown murderer suggests that the son treats his father like an banished murderer, so that the father's ban would only be the answer to this behaviour. This leads to the stage whereby the father respects his son because of his silence and, because he addresses him full of pity, is

²⁸ For the association with Sophocles' *Electra*, see Saïd 2002, 127, Griffin 2006, 49, and also Aly 1921, 94 = 1969, 94 who associates it with that related drama, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*; for the date of Sophocles' play probably from the 410s, with the 420s and 400s the next most likely decades, see Finglass 2007, 1–4, 2011, 1–6.

penalised by his own exclusion order – a stage where this man is caught by his own words. It is in this way that Oedipus himself unknowingly curses himself. The theme is introduced by Sophocles into the Oedipus saga; that Herodotus took it from Sophocles is chronologically as good as impossible. Rather the reverse is the case, as indeed *Oedipus the King* shows familiarity with Herodotus' work in other ways too. So it is also understandable that the motif plays a much more subordinate role in Herodotus than in the tragedy, where it is placed in the central point of the catastrophe.

Aly 1921, 95 ≈ 1969, 95

In the light of the discussion in this chapter we may question whether the proclamation in Herodotus really has 'a much more subordinate role'; it is less of a set piece than in Sophocles, to be sure, but both texts use their proclamations to bring out key themes in their respective stories and to emphasise the essentially tragic nature of the tales. As for the chronology, the last dated events in Herodotus are from 431 and 430;²⁹ he cannot have died before the early 420s at the earliest. On the other hand, the most likely decade for the first performance of Sophocles' play is the 430s.³⁰ It is not impossible that Sophocles' play came before Herodotus' casting of the Periander story. A connection between Sophocles' *Antigone*, from perhaps c. 450,³¹ in which Antigone expresses the view that she would die for a brother, but not for a husband or for a son, and the passage of Herodotus, in which Intaphernes' wife pleads for the life of her brother rather than that of her husband or son, has long been accepted.³² It is generally agreed that the direction of influence was from Herodotus to Sophocles, since the motif fits more organically in the former's story; indeed, several scholars have wanted to excise it from Sophocles altogether, in my view without justification. In her discussion of the passages Stephanie West concludes:

Herodotus' work has made a notably favourable impression at Athens in the 440s, and though, even if Herodotus repeated his lectures to many different groups, only a small proportion of Sophocles' audience can have heard him, the content of his lectures may well for a time have been the talk of the town. Though we should not look for subtle effects of intertextuality, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Sophocles expected some members of his audience to be reminded of Herodotus' account of Persian affairs under Cambyzes and Darius.³³

²⁹ Hdt. 6.91, 7.137, 7.233.2, 9.73; cf. Stadter 2012, 42 with n. 14. Note however the adventurous argument of Irwin 2013 that at least part of Herodotus' work was written after 413.

³⁰ See Finglass 2018, introduction.

³¹ See Finglass 2011, 1–11.

³² Soph. *Ant.* 904–20; Hdt. 3.119.

³³ West 1999, 112; see further *ibid.* 110–12.

At the end of his career Sophocles had Oedipus make a striking reference to how Greek customs regarding the behaviour of men and women were reversed by the Egyptians – a reversal which also happens to be central to Herodotus' account of that people.³⁴ In that last case, at least, there can be no question of Sophocles' coming first.

Such connections suggest that it is far from impossible that one author could have been influenced by the other in their telling of the tales. But whether we need to draw that conclusion, whether the similarities are so great in this case that only direct influence could explain them, is open to question. In discussing Herodotus' account of Periander we might, as Moles does, refer to a 'specifically tragic intermyth with the story of Oedipus',³⁵ but not necessarily with the version of that myth as told by Sophocles. The ultimately self-destructive use of a proclamation of excommunication is the kind of literary device that could easily have occurred independently to different authors, allowing them as it does to highlight the ignorance of one character and the irrational excess of the other. That in itself is justification enough for studying the two treatments in parallel. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that Herodotus gave his friend Sophocles a tip, or even that Herodotus himself, in the audience at that first performance of *Oedipus the King*, received the inspiration there for his presentation of Periander.

34 OC 337–45, from a play first performed in 401 after Sophocles' death in 405; Hdt. 2.35.2–4.

35 Moles 2007, 248.

Ioannis M. Konstantakos

Time, Thy Pyramids: The *Novella* of Mycerinus (Herodotus 2.129–134)

1 The tale in context

The story of Pharaoh Mycerinus forms part of Herodotus' broader account of the Egyptian kings who built the three famous pyramids on the plateau of Giza (2.124–134). This entire section has been conceived as a unit within Herodotus' overall narration of pre-Saitic Pharaonic history (see below, section 3). The sequence of the three monarchs begins with Cheops, presented as a tyrannical and megalomaniac despot. During the fifty years of his reign Cheops closed all the temples, oppressed the Egyptian people, and forced them to labour hard for decades in order to construct his great pyramid (2.124–126). Cheops' successor Chephren, who remained in power for fifty-six years, followed the same policy towards his subjects and left behind another impressive pyramid (2.127). These two pharaohs are intensely hated in Egypt because of the sufferings they inflicted on the people. The Egyptians even refrain from pronouncing the names of Cheops and Chephren and attribute their pyramids to a shepherd called Philitis, who once pastured his flocks in the area (2.128).

Mycerinus' biography (2.129–134) represents the narrative culmination of the foregoing sequence. Herodotus clearly has more stories to tell about the pharaoh of the third and smallest pyramid. The greater part of the chapters referring to Cheops and Chephren is devoted to the description of their buildings, while the purely narrative portions are limited. The only samples of true storytelling are the anecdote about the prostitution of Cheops' daughter (2.126) and the briefly summarised tradition concerning the herdsman Philitis. By contrast, the sections about Mycerinus unfold a longer chain of extraordinary tales, weird adventures, and popular narrative motifs.

In contrast to his two predecessors, Mycerinus behaved piously, re-opened the temples, and showed indulgence towards his overstrained people. For these reasons, the Egyptians praised him more than any other ruler of their land (2.129.1–2). In spite of his virtues, however, Mycerinus was afflicted with a series of misfortunes, beginning with the death of his daughter, his only child. The pharaoh's grief was excessive, and he wished to give his beloved daughter an impressive and unique kind of burial. He enclosed her corpse inside a life-size wooden effigy of a cow, all gilded on the outside, which he kept in a chamber of

his palace. Around this strange sarcophagus various kinds of incense were offered daily, while a lamp was lit all night by its side (2.129.3–130.1). Every year, the cow's effigy was taken out of the palace and carried around during a festival of mourning in honour of Osiris ('the god whom I decline to name in this connection', as Herodotus puts it, 2.132.2). This was supposed to fulfil the last wish of the dying maiden, who had asked to see the sunlight once a year.

Herodotus also reports an alternative tale of incest. According to some informants, Mycerinus fell in love with his own daughter and raped her; then the girl hanged herself out of shame. By way of punishment, her mother chopped off the hands of the handmaids who had delivered her daughter to the pharaoh for this abominable act. The handless wooden statues of these women-servants were to be seen in a chamber of the palace nearby (2.130.2–131.2). Herodotus rejects this latter detail and notes that the hands of the wooden figures were actually scattered on the ground around the figures' bases — a clear sign that the hands had fallen off in the course of time (2.131.3).

Mycerinus' next affliction was also connected with death, this time his own. From the oracle in the city of Buto the pharaoh received a prophecy that he only had six more years to live. Mycerinus indignantly complained about the gods' injustice: his predecessors Cheops and Chephren had enjoyed lengthy reigns in spite of their tyrannical and ungodly conduct; he himself, on the other hand, was condemned to a brief period of rule, even though he was a model of piety. A second pronouncement of the oracle clarified this paradox. The previous monarchs had prospered because they had perceived the divine will and had taken care to fulfil it; it had been ordained that Egypt should suffer for a hundred and fifty years. Mycerinus' benign kingship, however, thwarted this scheme of fate, and therefore his time was cut short (2.133.1–3). After these explanations, the pharaoh initiated a bizarre scheme to prove the oracle false. He gathered a large number of lamps and had them lit every evening, so as to make the night as bright as day. Thus he could spend all his days and all his nights drinking and carousing without cessation. In this way Mycerinus strove to give the lie to the prophecy by virtually doubling his allotted time; the six years would be in effect extended to twelve, as the nights were turned into days (2.133.4–5). The story concludes with a brief description of Mycerinus' small pyramid, which some Greeks attribute to Rhodopis, a beautiful *hetaera* of Naucratis (2.134.1). Herodotus refutes this latter claim and proves its absurdity on chronological and practical grounds (2.134.2–135.6; see also below, section 3).¹

¹ See also Nagy in this volume pp. 109–122.

What stuff is this tale made of? Where did the narrative material about Mycerinus and his two predecessors come from? Are there genuine Egyptian traditions to be discerned behind Herodotus' apparent medley of sensational and piquant stories? Most important, what was the Greek author's own contribution? How did he integrate the storytelling materials into a whole? Which motifs did he select for highlighting, how did he link the episodes to each other, and why did he choose to tell his story in this particular way? What is the narrative meaning produced by this peculiar organization of the *materia narrandi*? These are the main questions that will be posed in the following sections, in the hope of deducing broader conclusions about Herodotus' storytelling *métier* and artifices. The historian from Halicarnassus had a profound fascination with oracles and their interpretation. No wonder he sometimes shapes his own tales like 'narrative oracles' which contain hidden layers of meaning, to be deciphered by the audience.

2 Egyptian background and motifs

In terms of content, the entire narrative complex concerning Mycerinus and the other pyramid builders has been largely fashioned out of material of ultimately Egyptian provenance. One should not expect, of course, to discover official historical reports about these pharaohs behind Herodotus' tales. The Greek historian's material consisted rather of legendary traditions, mythical concepts, popular beliefs, and folk tales, which were circulating among the inhabitants of Egypt (the Egyptians themselves, and by extension the land's Greek settlers or visitors) around Herodotus' time. Most of the motifs of Herodotus' account find close parallels in ancient Egyptian fictional works, myths, or religious customs and rituals.

For example, the wooden cow effigy, inside which the pharaoh's daughter was entombed, has long been recognized as a reflection of an Egyptian cult object: the *rmnt* ('The Bearer'), a hollow figure in the form of a cow, which was fabricated of sycamore wood, was covered with gold, and enclosed the image of a headless mummy. The *rmnt* was used in the festival of Osiris in the month of Khoiak, precisely the ritual with which Herodotus associates the public carrying

of the daughter's cow-like sarcophagus. The mummy represented the body of Osiris, which was placed inside the heavenly cow so as to be reborn of her and come back to life.²

The divine identity of this holy cow is a complex issue. In the context of the cult of Osiris she was readily identifiable as Isis. This was also the *interpretatio Graeca* of the image. According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 366e, 372b–c), the gilded effigy of the cow, shrouded in black linen, depicted the mourning Isis; when it was carried around in procession, at the time of the winter solstice, it symbolised Isis' wanderings in search of her missing husband.³ From the Egyptian point of view, the attributes and functions of various goddesses seem to have converged in the icon of the divine cow. Some experts interpret the cow image as an embodiment of Neith, the patron goddess of Sais – the city where, according to Herodotus (2.130.1–132.3), the cow-like sarcophagus was to be seen and the ceremony of its transportation outdoors into the sunlight took place. Neith, a primeval deity with a creative role in ancient Egyptian cosmogony, was identified, especially in the Late Period, with Ihet or Mehet-weret, the heavenly cow who gave birth to the sun-god.⁴ Neith also had funerary associations; she protected

² On the *rmnt* figure, see Loret 1883, 26; Wiedemann 1890, 482; Bonnet 1952, 404, 495, 516f.; Chassinat 1966–1968, 65f., 122, 596–600; Griffiths 1970, 450; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 79–81; Helck 1984; Herbin 1994, 200–202; Coulon 2013, 170.

³ On the identification with Isis, see Wiedemann 1890, 482; How/Wells 1928, I 231; Frankfort 1948, 386, 391; Legrand 1948, 157f.; Aly 1969, 68; Griffiths 1970, 63, 450; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 79–81; West 1998, 32; Bichler 2001, 167, 169; Haziza 2009, 212; cf. Bonnet 1952, 404. Note however the objections of Chassinat 1966–1968, 596–599.

⁴ See Waddell 1939, 234; Legrand 1948, 157; Sauneron 1962, 110–112, 253–275, 288f., 295–302; Griffiths 1970, 450; Bleeker 1975, 137, 139–141; Hornung 1982, 97, 100f.; El-Sayed 1982, 24–27, 51–65, 196f., 667; Mora 1985, 95, 107f.; Lesko 1999, 55, 59f., 62f.; Haziza 2009, 211–214; cf. Bonnet 1952, 404, 514–517; Schlichting 1982, 393f. On the basis of the identification with Neith, Haziza even develops an idiosyncratic interpretation of the story of Mycerinus' incest. According to Haziza's theory, the pharaoh's daughter must have exercised the office of the 'priestess of Neith' at Sais; this practice must have been common during the Saite period, when the local cult of Neith reached its apogee, but perhaps went back already to the Old Kingdom (the time of Mycerinus' reign), when the title 'priestess of Neith' is frequently attested. The princess-priestess, by virtue of her hieratic function, would be assimilated to Neith, who was thought of simultaneously as the mother, the wife, and the daughter of Re, the sun-god. The pharaoh, on the other hand, would be identified with Re or his son (Osiris or Horus). From a misunderstanding or vulgarisation of this concept of hierogamy, a tale might develop that the pharaoh had taken his own daughter for his wife. There is a difficulty with this proposal. Neith was regarded chiefly as the mother and also as the daughter of Re or the sun (Bonnet 1952, 514–517; Sauneron 1962, 261–274, 288f., 295–302; Bleeker 1975, 140–142; El-Sayed 1982, 25f., 55f., 65, 87, 199); but there is no indi-

the deceased and watched over their sarcophagi and canopic jars.⁵ Other researchers recognise in the same cult image the sky-goddess Nut who, in her form as a cow, receives the dead within her body to let them be born again.⁶

Finally, some authorities identify the effigy as Shentait or Shentayet, a divinity portrayed as a reclining cow with a sun-disk on her head, just like the animal described by Herodotus. Shentayet was also cast in the role of the heavenly cow (note the symbol of the sun on her head-dress) and in this capacity played a vital part in the resurrection of Osiris.⁷ Because of the significance of her name ('the widow'), Shentayet was merged with Isis; in essence, however, she was a manifestation of Hathor,⁸ who was established as the cow-goddess *par excellence* in ancient Egyptian belief from early times.⁹ Hathor was also a mortuary deity, the mistress of the necropolis and of the realm of the dead, who welcomes, helps, and cares for the deceased in the afterlife. Sometimes Hathor fulfilled this function precisely in her cow-like form; she operated as the divine mother cow through which the dead hope to rise again.¹⁰ As a cow-goddess, Hathor was further linked with Nut, Ihet, Mehet-weret, and Isis; indeed, Isis assumed the form of the cow in the Late Period precisely because of her union with Hathor and other deities of a

cation that she was also seen as his wife. Indeed, in Egyptian myth and religion Neith was conceived as a quasi-androgynous primeval deity with no male partner beside her and no male help in her acts of creation (see El-Sayed 1982, 59–65, 196f.; Bleeker 1975, 140; Lesko 1999, 63; Graves-Brown 2010, 106, 164). The model of the divine 'daughter and wife' of Re, as a key to the interpretation of the story of Mycerinus' incest, works better with another Egyptian cow-like deity, namely, Hathor; see below.

5 See Bonnet 1952, 516f.; Sauneron 1962, 112; Nagy 1973, 60f.; Bleeker 1975, 142; El-Sayed 1982, 81–90, 195–198; Schlichting 1982, 393; Lesko 1999, 53–56, 60; Assmann 2001, 165–169; Haziza 2009, 212f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 163f.

6 See Frankfort 1948, 168f., 175–177; Bonnet 1952, 404, 495; Chassinat 1966–1968, 599; Bleeker 1973, 34; cf. Loret 1883, 33; Assmann 2001, 168–172, 189; Graves-Brown 2010, 162.

7 See Bonnet 1952, 404; Griffiths 1970, 450f.; Helck 1984.

8 See Bonnet 1952, 404f.; Yoyotte 1977–1978, 164–168; Helck 1984. On the connections of the *mmnt* with Hathor, see also Wiedemann 1890, 482; Picard 1933, 345; Schuhl 1936, 186; Griffiths 1970, 450; Bleeker 1973, 34.

9 See Frankfort 1948, 167, 171f., 385f.; Bonnet 1952, 277–280, 402–405; Bleeker 1973, 22, 25, 30–34, 42, 48, 52, 58, 75f., 88, 102f.; Daumas 1977, 1024f., 1028; Arnold 1977; Hornung 1982, 97f.; Berlandini 1983; Gillam 1995, 215, 217, 231; Roberts 1995, 43–50; Lesko 1999, 81–83, 85, 92, 97, 101f., 105–110, 114, 118, 121f., 285; Graves-Brown 2010, 97, 124, 131, 153, 164f.

10 See Frankfort 1948, 171f.; Bonnet 1952, 279–281; Münster 1968, 105, 121, 123, 175f., 184; Bleeker 1973, 34, 42–47, 69f., 75f., 99–103; Daumas 1977, 1028f.; Berlandini 1983, 44f.; Lesko 1999, 84f., 87–89, 92, 100–106, 109–111, 118, 127f., 225; Assmann 2001, 153, 171, 198f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 92f., 96f., 124, 166–168; Teeter 2011, 66–72, 89, 128.

related type.¹¹ Two essential characteristics of the *rmnt* figure forcefully stress its Hathoric associations. Firstly, the emblem on the cow's head, a sun-disk enclosed between two horns (cf. Herodotus 2.132.1), was the original distinctive head-dress of Hathor, from whom it was transferred later (from the New Kingdom onwards) to Isis.¹² Secondly, the wood used for the effigy came from the sycamore, Hathor's sacred tree.¹³ In brief, the *rmnt* cow represents the characteristic inclination of the ancient Egyptian mind to create compound mythical and theological *personae* in which different deities were wholly or partly fused.¹⁴

The connections of the cow-like sarcophagus with Hathor are especially interesting, because this latter goddess also fits well with other elements of the narrative about Mycerinus and may shed light on their genesis. Hathor had a complex relation with the sun-god Re; she was perceived in turn as Re's mother, his consort or wife, and his child. As goddess of the sky, Hathor was the 'mother' of the sun; but she was also theologically conceived from early on as the sun-god's spouse, female complement, sexual partner, and helpmate. Finally, Hathor was identified as the 'eye of the sun' (the radiant heat and light of the solar disc) and therefore regarded as Re's daughter. Essentially, this triple relationship expressed the idea that Hathor is a divine power necessary for the life of the sun-god, whom she continually renews and from whom she herself springs in turn.¹⁵ The tale of Mycerinus' incestuous love for his own daughter (who would eventually be enclosed in the Hathoric *rmnt* cow) may thus reflect, in a humanised way, the mythical conception of Hathor as both daughter and wife of Re.

11 See Frankfort 1948, 44; Bonnet 1952, 328f., 402f.; Bergman 1968, 126, 251, 268–271; Münster 1968, 89–93, 105, 107–110, 115–124, 154, 159f., 175f., 184, 198, 202; Griffiths 1970, 55, 58, 264f., 350f., 450, 501–503; Bleeker 1973, 25, 34, 70, 93, 96f., 104; Daumas 1977, 1025, 1029f.; Bergman 1980, 190f., 196f.; Roberts 1995, 106; Broze 1996, 234f.; Lesko 1999, 129, 155, 175, 179; Graves-Brown 2010, 165.

12 See Frankfort 1948, 44, 171; Bonnet 1952, 277, 280f., 328f.; Münster 1968, 109, 117–120, 184; Bleeker 1973, 22, 58, 70; Bergman 1980, 189; Berlandini 1983, 34–36; Gillam 1995, 215, 219; Lesko 1999, 78–80, 83, 88, 102, 175, 246; Graves-Brown 2010, 133, 162, 165.

13 See Bonnet 1952, 279, 495; Bergman 1968, 257f., 268f.; Münster 1968, 184; Bleeker 1973, 29, 36f., 66, 75, 88; Daumas 1977, 1028; Gillam 1995, 215f., 219–221; Lesko 1999, 83f., 87, 89, 102, 112f.

14 See Bleeker 1973, 34. Already Wiedemann 1890, 482 understood that Mycerinus' cow conflates together various divine identities: Isis, Hathor, as well as Neith, the local deity of Sais. Cf. similarly Griffiths 1970, 450f.; Bichler 2001, 169.

15 See Bonnet 1952, 280f.; Bergman 1968, 170, 274, 283; Münster 1968, 89–93, 109f., 121f., 173, 198; Derchain 1972, 7, 27–30, 34–44; Bleeker 1973, 48f., 53, 65f., 68, 89f., 104; Daumas 1977, 1025f., 1029; Roberts 1995, 13, 46, 50, 58–68; Broze 1996, 248; Lesko 1999, 82f., 88, 91–93, 114, 117, 119f., 127; Morris 2007, 201, 219f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 106, 130, 166.

In this connection it is worth recalling a humorous episode from the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, a famous mythological *novella* preserved on a papyrus from the reign of Ramses V (ca. 1147–1143 BC). In this narrative, Hathor undertakes to cheer up her father, Re-Harakhti the Universal Lord, who is lying down despondent after an insult he has suffered from a lower deity. To do so the goddess lifts up her garments and exposes her genitals before Re-Harakhti's eyes; the great god then laughs and recovers from his depression.¹⁶ Mycerinus' incest with his daughter may be read as a kind of popular debasement or euhemerisation of such a mythical scene, in which Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of sexuality,¹⁷ stands naked and exhibits her private parts to her own father. The Pharaoh's story recasts this archetypal divine encounter on the level of scabrous popular storytelling.¹⁸

Hathor is also relevant to the second part of Mycerinus' adventures. She was the goddess of drinking and carousal, hailed as 'mistress of drunkenness' and 'lady of jubilation' in the ritual hymns and cult inscriptions dedicated to her in her temples at Dendera, Philae, and other ancient sites.¹⁹ In her festivals – for example, the one in the month of Thoth, which was significantly named 'the feast of inebriety' – large quantities of beer and wine were consumed by the faithful; a general atmosphere of merry-making prevailed, with much singing, dancing, and revelling in honour of the goddess.²⁰ In certain ritual celebrations – such as those at the temple of Medamud, when the goddess was welcomed as the 'Eye of the

16 See Lefebvre 1949, 187f.; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 216; Brunner-Traut 1965, 96; Lalouette 1987, 94; Broze 1996, 40–44, 125, 236–248; Simpson 2003, 94; Bresciani 2007, 366. Cf. Lévy 1936, 819–834; Bleeker 1973, 39; Roberts 1995, 58, 61, 175; Lesko 1999, 120, 230; Morris 2007; Graves-Brown 2010, 127, 167.

17 On this aspect, see Bonnet 1952, 282, 330; Derchain 1972, 12, 45–48; Bleeker 1973, 39–42, 57, 83, 85, 99; Daumas 1977, 1024, 1026f., 1029, 1032; Darnell 1995, 87; Roberts 1995, 9, 16, 106; Lesko 1999, 89, 98f., 103f., 111–117, 120, 125, 229f., 285f.; Morris 2007, 201, 203, 220; Haziza 2009, 287f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 100, 110, 127, 167–169; Teeter 2011, 89f.

18 The humorous episode of Hathor and Re-Harakhti evokes the idea of erotic stimulation and even of potential sex between the goddess and her father; see Broze 1996, 43f., 236–238, 248; Morris 2007, 201, 219f.

19 See Junker 1906, 101f., 106, 122–125; Gutbub 1961; Daumas 1968, 7, 11f.; Bleeker 1973, 43f., 50f., 54–58, 83–85, 91f., 102–105; Daumas 1977, 1026–1028, 1032; Brunner 1986, 773, 775; Meyer 1986, 1176; Goyon 1992, 7–11; Poo 1995, 23, 66, 93, 115, 129, 156f., 159f.; Roberts 1995, 13; Lesko 1999, 112, 125–129, 219; Graves-Brown 2010, 167–169; Teeter 2011, 71f.

20 See Junker 1906, 101–104, 107–119; Junker 1911, 5–9, 35, 44–47, 76–80; Bonnet 1952, 282, 863; Gutbub 1961, 46–55; Daumas 1968; Bleeker 1973, 91f., 103; Meeks 1976, 435f.; Daumas 1977, 1026f., 1035f.; Brunner 1986, 773, 775; Meyer 1986, 1175f.; Goyon 1992, 10f.; Darnell 1995; Poo 1995, 155f.; Roberts 1995, 13f., 36; Lesko 1999, 109–112, 115, 125–129, 219f., 223–225, 228–230; Graves-Brown 2010, 3, 167–169.

Sun' that returned from the south – the faithful indulged in drinking and dancing during the night by the light of lamps or torches.²¹

All this recalls Mycerinus' lifestyle after he has received the fatal oracle. The doomed pharaoh throws himself into continuous drinking and merry-making as though he is turning his life into a prolonged festival of Hathor. Indeed, like the participants in the Hathoric religious holidays, Mycerinus continues his carousing throughout the night by the light of lamps. One of the festive songs for the goddess, inscribed on an alabaster amphora from the late New Kingdom, encourages merriment with the following words:

There comes wine together with the Golden One
and fills thy house with joy!
Live in intoxication day and night without end,
be happy and carefree,
whilst male and female singers rejoice and dance
to prepare for thee a beautiful day.²²

The song's enthusiastic exhortation ('live in intoxication day and night without end') coincides exactly with what Mycerinus strives to do when he turns his nights into days so as never to interrupt his drinking.²³ As though in compensation for the loss of his Hathoric daughter, Mycerinus now tries to place his life under Hathor's influence in a different way.

The religious significance of drunkenness in ancient Egyptian belief also invests the pharaoh's actions with poignant irony. In Egyptian ritual practice wine and drinking were considered as a means to appease the gods, assuage their anger, and elicit their benevolence.²⁴ The mythical archetype of this notion was offered by the well-known 'myth of the Eye of the Sun', which is recounted in a very

²¹ See Gutbub 1961, 46–55; Darnell 1995, 47–62, 90; Lesko 1999, 219; Teeter 2011, 71; cf. Daumas 1968, 15; Daumas 1977, 1027f.; Brunner 1986, 773.

²² See Schott 1950, 130; Bleeker 1973, 84. 'The Golden One' was a standard appellation of Hathor in Egyptian cult, established since the Old Kingdom; see Junker 1906, 103, 107, 111; Bleeker 1973, 25f., 47; Daumas 1977, 1024; Lesko 1999, 88, 92f., 96, 116, 118f., 126, 207, 219, 239; Graves-Brown 2010, 92f., 96.

²³ The very expression applied by Herodotus to Mycerinus' incessant carousals (οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, 2.133.4) may reflect an originally Egyptian proverbial turn of phrase. Cf. an architect's report on a stele of Pharaoh Sheshonq I (ca. 945–924 BC) concerning the progress of the royal building project at Karnak: the workmen labour 'neither sleeping by night nor indeed slumbering by day, but they build the everlasting works unflaggingly'. See Caminos 1952, 51; Koenen 1983, 152; West 1998, 31, 34.

²⁴ See Lloyd 1975–1988, III 83; Meeks 1976, 435f.; Brunner 1986, 773, 775; Meyer 1986, 1175; Lalouette 1987, 275; Poo 1995, 154–164, 169; Lesko 1999, 213; Haziza 2009, 290.

ancient Egyptian religious cosmology, usually entitled *The Book of the Heavenly Cow* by modern scholars. This text is first attested in New Kingdom royal tombs, but its mythical material is already alluded to in earlier literature and probably originates from the Middle or even the Old Kingdom.²⁵ According to the myth, Hathor, the ‘Eye of the Sun’, was sent by the wrathful Re, the lord of the universe, to punish humans, who had become evil and were plotting against the gods. The fierce Hathor started slaying the human beings with great panache, until the supreme god finally decided to spare the rest of mankind from extermination. For this reason Re had a special red dye fetched from Elephantine and mixed with plentiful quantities of beer; these were transported to the place where Hathor was to resume her work of annihilation on the following day, and they were poured over the earthly fields. When the goddess arrived in the morning and saw the land flooded with this red-coloured liquid, she drunk avidly of it and became inebriated and was pacified as a result. Thus Hathor forgot about the extermination of the humans.²⁶

In memory of this mythical incident alcoholic beverages had to be periodically offered to Hathor in her festivals so as to soothe her ferocious aspect.²⁷ The same ritual was extended to other divinities. In the depictions of wine-offering ceremonies in various temples (at Dendera, Edfu, and Karnak), the presentation of the drink to Horus, Isis, or Amun Re is accompanied by appeasing inscriptions such as ‘May your anger pass away’, ‘May anger be driven away from your heart’, ‘May anger be removed from your face’, or ‘To appease your heart with what came

25 See Brunner-Traut 1965, 266; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 197f.; Hornung 1982, 33–36, 90–92; Poo 1995, 153f.; Simpson 2003, 289; Bresciani 2007, 236. In its present form, the text cannot have been composed before the New Kingdom (e.g. the time of Amenhotep III or Akhenaten); see Hornung 1982, 79–81.

26 See Brunner-Traut 1965, 69–71; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 198f.; Hornung 1982, 1–9, 37–40; Lalouette 1987, 46–49; Simpson 2003, 290–292; Bresciani 2007, 236–238; see further Junker 1911, 16–19; Bleeker 1973, 50, 91; Brunner 1986, 775; Goyon 1992, 7–10; Poo 1995, 147f., 153–157; Roberts 1995, 10–12; Lesko 1999, 128f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 3, 37, 169.

27 This is stated in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, at the conclusion of the narrative about Hathor and the humans: ‘The Majesty of Re then told this goddess that intoxicating draughts shall be prepared for her on the seasonal feasts of the year; maidservants shall be held responsible for this. And so the preparation of intoxicating draughts became the assignment of maidservants on the Feast of Hathor on the part of all people since the first day’. See Hornung 1982, 9, 40, 58; Lalouette 1987, 48; Simpson 2003, 292. See further Junker 1911, 5–8, 16f., 80, 83–85; Bonnet 1952, 863; Bleeker 1973, 91f., 103, 105; Meeks 1976, 435f.; Brunner 1986, 775; Meyer 1986, 1175f.; Goyon 1992, 9–11, 13f.; Darnell 1995, 48f., 58f.; Poo 1995, 36f., 92f., 114–117, 129, 154–157, 159f.; Roberts 1995, 11; Lesko 1999, 128f.; Haziza 2009, 290; Graves-Brown 2010, 3, 169f.

out from you'.²⁸ Mycerinus also finds himself in a situation where placating the gods would seem necessary; he has thwarted the plans of fate for Egypt and incurred the wrath of the gods, who cut his life short in consequence. However, the pharaoh does not employ inebriation as a means to supplicate the divinity and assuage heavenly anger. On the contrary, his non-stop drinking aims at deliberately subverting the divine prophecy. Instead of being part of a pious ritual, drunkenness becomes for Mycerinus an irreverent sophism against the gods' will.

For the ancient Egyptian mind inebriation was also a sacred way of transcendence, in that it could lead to religious fervour and ecstasy. Drunkenness provided a medium of overcoming the boundary that separated mortals and gods, so as to gain access to the divine and come into spiritual contact with the godhead. This aspect was especially prominent in the festivals of Hathor, a goddess inextricably linked with the experience of the beyond. During Hathoric rituals intoxication, along with euphoric music and dancing, might produce trance-like states.²⁹ The purpose of Mycerinus' festivities is also transgressive, although in a negative and presumptuous manner. The carousing pharaoh strives to break the barrier between his own person and the gods, in the sense that he is coveting the gods' supernatural powers; Mycerinus wishes to double his allotted life-span, i.e. to control time, a prerogative reserved for the gods. Time and its manipulation are indeed basic themes in the Herodotean narrative (see below, section 3).³⁰ In many respects, therefore, Mycerinus inverts the religious uses of inebriating drink. He transforms the placating and transcendental functions of drunkenness into an irreverent travesty and celebrates a 'black mass' of intoxication by day and night.

The latter part of Herodotus' account also contains many other motifs traceable in ancient Egyptian narratives. The prophecy of the oracle, which specifies exactly how little time Mycerinus still has to live, represents a recurrent theme in late Egyptian fictions.³¹ Another pharaoh faces the same plight in the tale of the magician Merire, transmitted by the *Papyrus Vandier*, which can be dated between the late 6th and the 4th century BC; the work itself was probably composed around the 8th or 7th century BC, as indicated by its language and style.³² As the

²⁸ See Firchow 1957, 104; Poo 1995, 92, 96–99, 126–129, 159f., 162–164.

²⁹ See Daumas 1968, 15–17; Bleeker 1973, 51, 91, 103; Daumas 1977, 1027; Brunner 1986, 775–777; Goyon 1992, 7, 11–14; Darnell 1995, 62f.; Poo 1995, 37, 167; Roberts 1995, 36, 173f.; Graves-Brown 2010, 166–168; Teeter 2011, 71.

³⁰ See Xanthou in this volume.

³¹ See Kammerzell 1987; Verhoeven 1997; Ryholt 1999, 81; Quack 2005, 66; Holm 2008, 98.

³² The narrative material may be even older, going back to the Ramesside age, when other legends about Merire were also in circulation. See Posener 1985, 8–19; Fischer-Elfert 1987, 6, 14f.;

story goes, King Sisobek was a great trencherman and used to eat a hearty supper every night. One evening Sisobek suddenly lost his appetite for food and drink and fell seriously ill. He asked his court magicians for advice. They consulted their scrolls and discovered that the pharaoh was suffering from the same malady which had caused the death of an earlier monarch; like the disease's previous victim, Sisobek only had seven more days to live. The king was terribly afraid and immediately asked the sages to find some way of prolonging his life. Only one of the magicians knew how to perform such a miracle; this was Merire, a very wise scribe, who had been unjustly pushed aside by his envious colleagues. Merire was promptly summoned and ordered to save Pharaoh Sisobek. However Merire revealed that, in order to achieve this, he would have to die himself in the king's place. Sisobek made great promises to take care of Merire's wife and child and to award the highest honours to his saviour. The magician was persuaded and went to the netherworld as a replacement for the pharaoh.³³

As well as the prediction concerning the king's limited remainder of life, Mycerinus' story also presents other elements in common with the *novella* of Merire. Several motifs occur in both, though in a variant form or in rearranged order. Sisobek's lavish nocturnal dinners recall Mycerinus' carousals all through the night. Like the Herodotean pharaoh, Sisobek wishes to overturn the fatal forecast by finding a way to prolong his own life – although this time the solution is not a sophism but a miracle contrived by magical means.

Another example of the same motif is contained in the Demotic tale of Petese, which serves as the frame narrative for an extensive collection of 70 stories about women's virtues and vices. Fragments of this composition have survived in four Demotic papyri; the earliest (*P. Dem. Saq.* 4), which contains precisely a piece of the frame story about Petese, is dated no later than the end of the fourth century BC.³⁴ Thus the narrative presumably reflects storytelling traditions current in

Shisha-Halevy 1989; Quirke 1996, 274f.; Fischer-Elfert 1996, 506–508; Loprieno 1996, 524; Verhoeven 1997, 9; Quack 2005, 22, 68; Bresciani 2007, 610.

³³ See Posener 1985, 22–28, 39–64; Fischer-Elfert 1987, 7–10, 13–18; Quack 2005, 65f.; Bresciani 2007, 611–613; Agut-Labordère/Chauveau 2011, 3–8.

³⁴ The other papyri come from the Roman period (late 1st or early 2nd century AD). See Ryholt 1999, xiii, 1–11, 88–91; Ryholt 2006, 15–17, 20–28; cf. Quack 2005, 23, 72; Holm 2008, 99. In its present form, the collection of the seventy stories as a whole must have been compiled after the 3rd century BC, as is indicated by an occasional reference to the Hellenistic institution of the 'royal auction' in one of the tales. However, the frame narrative about Petese clearly reflects an earlier tradition, as proved by the fourth-century papyrus.

Egypt during the later Persian period, not many decades after Herodotus' lifetime.³⁵ The protagonist of the work, Petese, a prophet of Atum at Heliopolis, wishes to find out how long he has to live. For this purpose he conjures up a ghost and forces it by magic to reveal the answer to him. He is told that he has only forty days left. It is not clear why Petese faces death so suddenly. The hero is much saddened but decides to put his worries aside and spend his remaining time making merry with his wife Sakhminofret by night as well as by day. And so indeed he passes his last days.

Apart from this, Petese also takes other measures, which indicate ulterior purposes. After taking care of the preparations for his funeral he creates two baboons of wax and magically brings them to life. He then orders these baboons to collect and write down 35 stories about the vices of women and as many about their virtues. Petese also gives specific instructions to his wife concerning prayers and offerings of incense which she must present to the sun-god Re the day after her husband's demise. After Petese's death, Sakhminofret performs the prescribed rituals. Then the sun-god answers her with the voice of Petese. From the following parts of the narrative, it becomes evident that a baboon speaks with Sakhminofret and tells her the stories of women which were collected at her husband's command – one story per day. This baboon is presumably one of the magical beasts earlier created by Petese to write down the stories; but it may also be the animal manifestation of the sun-god, who communicates with Sakhminofret, as mentioned above, after the performance of the proper rituals. Although the entire composition is preserved in a very fragmentary state and its conclusion is lost, it seems that these tales of women were meant to communicate a message to Sakhminofret: the narratives would inspire or enable the woman to accomplish what Petese desired of her. Sakhminofret's actions would probably lead to the dead prophet's resurrection at the end.³⁶

In this case too the analogies between the late Egyptian *novella* and the Herodotean account of Mycerinus comprise more than the prophecy of a limited time left for the protagonist to live. Petese, upon hearing the ominous prediction, devotes the rest of his days and nights to merry-making, exactly like Herodotus' pharaoh. Petese also puts into practice a far-reaching scheme which may eventually lead to his resurrection, viz. his escape from the prescribed fate of death. The

³⁵ Indeed one of the baboons' individual tales coincides with the famous story of the Egyptian king Pheros in Herodotus 2.111 and therefore stems from narrative material current in Herodotus' time. See Quack 2005, 23, 72; Ryholt 2006, 13, 17, 31–46; Holm 2008, 99; Quack 2013, 66–69.

³⁶ See Ryholt 1999, 13–20, 51–58, 67–81; Ryholt 2006, 2–6, 9, 69–74, 111f., 128, 137f., 148–151; cf. Quack 2005, 69–73.

prophet's ultimate purpose is to thwart destiny; in this respect he is similar to Mycerinus, who wishes to overturn the prophecy of his untimely end. Furthermore Petese's plan of action includes another form of remedy against his premature demise. The collection of stories, which the prophet orders his two baboons to write down, is called in the text 'books which will be found after him in another time'. This narrative work represents a kind of literary testament which will perpetuate Petese's memory. The doomed Heliopolitan priest presumably wishes to be placed by posterity on a par with the legendary Imhotep, the greatest sage of the Egyptian tradition, whose vastly ancient writings were said to have been discovered ages later in a temple.³⁷ This is a different means of prolonging one's life – virtual or figurative survival, secured through an enduring posthumous fame embodied in great works. Mycerinus, in the Herodotean narrative, also leaves behind impressive memorials, which preserve his name and transcend his untimely death: namely, his pyramid and his daughter's extraordinary, cow-like sarcophagus. Both these fabrications have endured for centuries, until Herodotus' time, and have kept the pharaoh's fame alive.

The final image of the carousing Mycerinus brings to mind other similar traditions about merry and bibulous Egyptian rulers. Foremost among them is Amasis, the jocular pharaoh of the Saite dynasty, to whom ancient sources attribute an inveterate fondness for drinking and jesting. Herodotus reports the following anecdote concerning this king's daily schedule (2.173): Amasis devoted the early part of every morning to his state duties and administrative work; but for the rest of the day he drank with his companions and enjoyed himself in a playful atmosphere, ignoring the remonstrations of his all too strict counsellors, who found such a conduct unbefitting to a king. This portrait of Amasis, though doubtless adorned by Greek storytellers, rests on Egyptian traditions.³⁸ A papyrus from the early Ptolemaic age (*P. Bibl. Nat.* 215) transmits a very similar Demotic tale about the same pharaoh. One day Amasis wanted to drink a large vat of wine (a quantity of approximately twelve litres, according to one interpretation of the

37 See *P. Petese Tebt.* A, col. 5.11; Ryholt 1999, 18, 38, 56; Ryholt 2006, 3. Indeed, in another Demotic narrative, from a papyrus of the 1st or 2nd century AD, Petese appears again as a famous sage and is called to explain to the pharaoh an astrological work written in old times by the great Imhotep and later discovered in the temple at Heliopolis. See Ryholt 1999, 81f.; Quack 2005, 73; Ryholt 2006, 3, 13.

38 See De Meulenaere 1951, 94–96; Froidefond 1971, 183–185; Lloyd 1975–1988, I 103f., III 213f.; Spalinger 1978, 26–28, 33; Müller 1989; Quaegebeur 1990, 265–270; Bencsik 1994, 102; Konstantakos 2007, 232f.; Haziza 2009, 281–285; Konstantakos 2013a, 418–420.

Demotic text)³⁹ and disregarded the admonitions of his courtiers, who warned him of the probable adverse effects. So the king went down to the sea, where he made merry with his wives, drank to his heart's content, and lay down to sleep at night. The next morning, however, Amasis woke up on the shore with a terrible hangover, which totally incapacitated him for work. Unable to fulfil his duties, Amasis asked for a man who could tell him an entertaining story to make him forget his malaise.⁴⁰ In these narratives, the Saite monarch spends the greater portion of his days and nights carousing, much like Mycerinus in his last years.

An earlier example is found in the so-called *Tale of the Two Brothers*, a celebrated literary *Märchen* preserved in a papyrus from the end of the 19th Dynasty (ca. 1200 BC). In this narrative an anonymous pharaoh is repeatedly presented indulging in the pleasures of banqueting. Whenever his evil wife wishes to obtain a favour from him, so as to forward her malicious purposes, she offers him a drinking-party. The king sits down with her; she pours him a drink; and together they enjoy a day of feasting. In this way, the dreadful woman prevails upon the pharaoh's will.⁴¹

Such portrayals of the drinking pharaoh in literary or popular fiction may have sprung from official representations of the Egyptian monarch in royal inscriptions, state records, or cultic discourse.⁴² A personal letter of Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1400 BC) to one of his high officials, Usersatet, the viceroy of Kush, begins with an image of the pharaoh drinking and enjoying a holiday in a room of his palace to celebrate the anniversary of his enthronement.⁴³ Ramses IV (ca. 1153–1147 BC), in his prayer to Osiris which is carved on a stele at Abydos, requests of the god the following favour: 'And thou shalt give me to eat until I am satisfied; and thou shalt give me to drink until I am drunk'.⁴⁴ In his second stele at Karnak, which describes the war against the Hyksos invaders, King Kamose (mid-16th century BC) proudly declares his victory with the following words, addressed to the leader of the enemies: 'See, I am drinking the wine of your own

³⁹ See Zauzich 1988; Quaegebeur 1990, 266–270; Hoffmann 2000, 197; Simpson 2003, 451; Bresciani 2007, 880.

⁴⁰ See Spiegelberg 1914, 26–28; Brunner-Traut 1965, 153–156, 290; Hoffmann 2000, 197–199; Maspero 2002, 233–237; Simpson 2003, 451f.; Quack 2005, 63; Bresciani 2007, 880f.; Agut-Labordère/Chauveau 2011, 13–15; Agut-Labordère 2011–2012, 411f.

⁴¹ See Lefebvre 1949, 155–157; Brunner-Traut 1965, 38f.; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 209f.; Lalouette 1987, 169f.; Maspero 2002, 14f.; Simpson 2003, 88f.; Bresciani 2007, 383f.

⁴² Cf. Brunner 1986, 774–777; Haziza 2009, 282, 291–294; Agut-Labordère 2011–2012.

⁴³ See Helck 1955; Helck 1961, 50. The letter is known from a stele at Semna in Nubia on which Usersatet had the text inscribed.

⁴⁴ See Breasted 1906, 227f.

vineyard, which the Asiatics whom I have captured press for me'.⁴⁵ On reliefs and painted scenes from courtiers' tombs in Amarna, Pharaoh Akhenaten (ca. 1352–1336 BC) is depicted eating and drinking in lavish banquets together with his wife, his mother, and other women of his family.⁴⁶ In religious traditions this concept persisted for millennia. Already in the Pyramid Texts, from the royal pyramid tombs of the Old Kingdom (24th to 22nd century BC), the souls of the dead pharaohs are imagined as drinking wine and taking part in festivities in the domain of the gods.⁴⁷ Ages later, in illustrations of wine-offering ceremonies in temples of the Graeco-Roman period at Philae and Dendera, the gods confer the blessing of inebriation on the king and pronounce formulae such as 'I give you drunkenness upon drunkenness without end'.⁴⁸

The transcendental religious significance of drinking, together with the general implications of well-being inherent in the concept of the kingly carousal, is obviously evoked by these representations. The merry-making Pharaonic characters of fiction and anecdote may be read as a novelistic offshoot of such formal depictions. In the context of popular or literary storytelling, however, the image of the drinking pharaoh could be invested with additional overtones, not only positive, but also of a disquieting or censurable nature. Amasis' carousals provide occasions for the expression of his benign folk sagacity (Hdt. 2.172.3–5, 2.173.3–4); but they may also cause the king to disregard his state duties (Hdt. 2.173.2, the Demotic story in *P. Bibl. Nat.* 215). Drinking may weaken the monarch's will and place it under the control of an evil person (*Tale of the Two Brothers*). Mycerinus' incessant feasts are a means for contesting the validity of divine prophecy and, ultimately, the power of the gods (Hdt. 2.133.4–5).

The story of Mycerinus also presents another point of contact with the traditions about Amasis, namely, his irreverent attitude to oracles. As Herodotus reports, during his years as a private citizen, before his usurpation of the throne, Amasis resorted to stealing whenever he found himself short of funds because of his carousals. The victims then used to bring Amasis to various places of divination nearby, so as to ask the oracular gods about his guilt. In some cases, Amasis' culpability was confirmed by the god; in others, he was acquitted. After he became pharaoh, Amasis took great care of the gods who had declared him guilty,

⁴⁵ See Pritchard 1969, 554; Poo 1995, 32; Simpson 2003, 349; Bresciani 2007, 249.

⁴⁶ See Davies 1905–1906, II 34–36 (and plate 32), III 4–7, 29f. (and plates 4, 6, 34), IV 5f. (and plate 10); Meyer 1986, 1174.

⁴⁷ Thus in many spells from the tombs of Pepi I and Pepi II. See Allen/Der Manuelian 2005, 106f., 140, 142, 182, 285; cf. Meyer 1986, 1174; Poo 1995, 148f.

⁴⁸ See Poo 1995, 142f., 166f.

and considered their oracles infallible. By contrast, he showed no respect to those gods who had exculpated him, since they had obviously missed the truth (2.174).

There is a broad analogy between Amasis' behaviour and Mycerinus' attempt to give the lie to the oracle of Buto. Both these stories develop originally Egyptian conceptions, as is indicated by a papyrus from the Ramesside age (*P. Brit. Mus.* 10335) which records a similar case. According to the account of the papyrus, the keeper of a temple storehouse discovered the theft of five tunics of coloured cloth. He therefore appealed to the god Amun of Pe-Khenty (a district of Thebes) when the god's image was brought out in procession during a religious festival. The keeper read a list of suspects to the god, and the divine image nodded to indicate the guilt of one of them, a man named Pethauemdiamun. The accused man, however, protested that the god's pronouncement was false. Subsequently, Pethauemdiamun went before another local deity, the Amun of the district Te-Shenyt, evidently with the hope of obtaining a more favourable verdict. The second Amun, however, also declared that Pethauemdiamun was culpable; but he denied the charge for the second time. The same process was then repeated before another god, the Amun of Bukenen, in the presence of many witnesses. Only when Pethauemdiamun had returned for the third time before the initial Amun of Pe-Khenty, was the case solved. The god confirmed once again, very emphatically, that the accused was the thief, and ordered that chastisement should be inflicted on him in the presence of the townsmen. At that point, Pethauemdiamun finally broke down and admitted his guilt. He then received his due punishment (a hundred blows) and took an oath that he would return the stolen goods.⁴⁹

This Egyptian account provides the link which connects Mycerinus' story with Amasis' picaresque adventures. The summons of the suspect before a series of deities, who are called to pronounce judgement on his guilt, is practically identical with the oracular ordeals to which Amasis is submitted by the victims of his thefts. On the other hand, Pethauemdiamun's contestation of the oracles' verdicts recalls Mycerinus' refusal to accept the validity of the divine prophecy; both these men claim that the divine pronouncements regarding their case are false and unhesitatingly cast doubt on the words of the gods.

It seems, then, that during the Late Period or the Persian age a cycle of tales was developed around the figure of Mycerinus – a cycle which included clear parallels to the anecdotes concerning Amasis. The two pharaohs, although histori-

⁴⁹ See Blackman 1925; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 82. On Mycerinus' roguish attitude vis-à-vis the oracle, cf. Crahay 1956, 226; Kirchberg 1965, 45–47; Bencsik 1994, 150f.; Bichler 2001, 195; Haziza 2012, 43f. For the parallel with Amasis, cf. Bencsik 1994, 90f., 105; Hollmann 2011, 234.

cally separated by a large interval, were involved in analogous narrative situations; individual motifs were perhaps transferred from the one to the other in popular storytelling.⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that in late traditions Amasis was connected with the pyramids of Giza. According to Diodorus of Sicily (1.64.13), Amasis was said to have built the second of these pyramids. This report presumably originated from an attempt (probably undertaken in Egyptian or in mixed Graeco-Egyptian milieus) to ascribe Egypt's most emblematic monuments to figures of great importance for the country's more recent history.⁵¹ Significantly, the rule of the Saite Dynasty was characterised by a notable tendency towards archaism which entailed an increased interest in the history and culture of the Old Kingdom, especially in the great pyramid-building pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty. Various archaic edifices from that distant period of the past were restored or enlarged in the Saite period, including the pyramid of Mycerinus, in which a new sarcophagus for the deceased pharaoh was also dedicated.⁵² In such conditions the transplantation of narrative motifs at the level of popular tradition would have been easy. Thus the stories about Mycerinus, the last of the Old Kingdom pyramid builders, interacted with those concerning Amasis, the last great ruler of the Saite era.

A final parallel with Egyptian myth and fiction occurs in the case of the perfidious handmaids who helped Mycerinus in his incestuous affair. These were punished by the queen, who cut off their hands (Hdt. 2.131.2). The same motif, again in the context of a deviant sexual act, occurs in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*. Seth lies in bed with Horus and attempts to sodomise him; but Horus grabs his assailant's phallus with his hands, which are soiled with Seth's semen as a result. Horus then asks his mother Isis for help; Isis immediately cuts off her son's hands with a knife, throws them into the water of the marsh, and miraculously gives Horus a new pair of hands.⁵³ The context and application of the motif are different in this case. Nevertheless, the story again involves a queen and

50 Cf. Zivie-Coche 1972, 134; Quaegebeur 1990, 265.

51 See Helck 1959, 2272; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 84. Diodorus uses the form Ἀμωσις, an alternative Greek transliteration of Amasis' name, also employed by Manetho (frr. 68 and 69, pp. 170–172 Waddell = *FGrHist* 609 F2).

52 See Daressy 1908; Helck 1959, 2211, 2214f.; Wallinga 1959, 206f.; Leclant 1969, 252; Zivie-Coche 1972, 134; Porter/Moss 1974, 17–19, 33f.; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 78; von Beckerath 1982; Stadelmann 1982, 1230, 1235f.; Zivie-Coche 1991, 93f., 97–101, 103f., 166f., 221–224. More generally, cf. Brunner 1970; Nagy 1973; Brunner 1975; Spalinger 1978, 12f., 29–33; Vasunia 2001, 129f.

53 See Lefebvre 1949, 196; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 219f.; Lalouette 1987, 99f.; Broze 1996, 90–92; Simpson 2003, 99; Bresciani 2007, 371. For the connection with Herodotus, cf. Haziza 2009, 214f.

mother (Isis, the widow of Osiris, for whose kingship Horus and Seth are contending), whose child is sexually assaulted in a wrongful manner; this royal mother, like Mycerinus' queen, chops off someone's hands as a reaction to the unlawful sexual act. Isis' deed rests on a very early mythical background. A spell (no. 158) in the Egyptian Coffin Texts (ca. 22nd to 18th century BC) already mentions Horus' hands as cut off by his mother Isis and thrown into the water; but at Re's instigation, the crocodile god Sobk fished them up and Isis restored them to Horus.⁵⁴ In this older version, the context appears to be some kind of conflict between Horus and Isis. Amputation of the hands is inflicted again by the mother as revenge or punishment, recalling the motif's use in the Herodotean account.⁵⁵

Herodotus' broader narrative about the pyramid builders of Giza, within which the story of Mycerinus is framed, is also ultimately dependent on Egyptian lore. The presentation of Cheops as a godless and tyrannical oppressor (2.124, 2.128), though hardly borne out by contemporaneous Fourth Dynasty documents, may have been derived from later Egyptian traditions, possibly of a popular nature, which had been developed since the First Intermediate Period or the Middle Kingdom. The negative picture of the great pyramid constructor may have arisen from the memory of the excessive expenses and financial exhaustion caused by such massive building projects; or it may have resulted from reflections on the vanity of the grand monuments of the past – a theme that became a moralistic *topos* in Egyptian wisdom texts from the First Intermediate Period onwards.⁵⁶ In

54 See Faulkner 1973, 136f. The same spell is later included in the *Book of the Dead* (no. 113); see Sethe 1923, 57–72; Hornung 1995, 221–223, 485f.; Faulkner 2010, 109–112; cf. Griffiths 1970, 355; Broze 1996, 91.

55 Cf. Sethe 1923, 61f. Griffiths (1960, 48–50, 90–92, and 1970, 355) speculates that Horus may have been punished because he sexually violated his mother Isis – an episode described in a Middle Kingdom funerary stele, in early magical papyri, and in various later sources (cf. Roberts 1995, 105). If so, the amputation of Horus' hands is imposed as chastisement for incestuous sex; similarly, Mycerinus' queen chops off the hands of the maidservants because they assisted in an act of incest.

56 See How/Wells 1928, I 227; van de Walle 1934, 307; Waddell 1939, 230; Grinsell 1947, 346f.; Lüdeckens 1954, 335f.; Posener 1956, 9–13; Morenz 1971, 114–118; Stevenson Smith 1971, 168f.; Lloyd 1975–1988, I 108f., III 62f., 78; Redford 1986, 159f.; Meltzer 1989; Zivie-Coche 1991, 167, 244–246, 312f.; Baud 1998, 21, 24–26; Haziza 2009, 164–169; Haziza 2012, 35–41. One detail of Herodotus' account, in particular, points to a well-known Egyptian practice: the people of Egypt refuse to pronounce the names of the tyrannical kings Cheops and Chephren, and ascribe their monuments to an unrelated person, a local herdsman (Hdt. 2.128). This kind of *damnatio memoriae* by obliteration of one's name was indeed suffered by rebels, usurpers, or disgraced pharaohs of the past in several instances of Egyptian history. The pharaohs' cartouches were erased from their monuments; the names of the detested persons were suppressed in official texts. See Haziza 2009, 166; Haziza 2012, 38.

the collection of short stories in the famous *Papyrus Westcar* (P. Berlin 3033), Cheops is portrayed as an arrogant and cruel man who is ready to sacrifice human lives for his own entertainment or for the maintenance of his own interests. For example he orders a prisoner to be decapitated so that a famous magician may perform his wonders and bring the corpse back to life. He also treats his subjects peremptorily and calls them his ‘servants’. At the end of the extant text it is implied that Cheops intends to persecute the newborn children who are destined to found a new dynasty and eventually to replace Cheops’ bloodline on the throne.⁵⁷

Even the prostitution of Cheops’ daughter (2.126) may entail more than a dragoman’s ribald *novella* tailor-made for Greek tastes, as it is sometimes described by commentators.⁵⁸ According to Herodotus, the pharaoh forced his own daughter to work as a prostitute in order to finance his building programme with her earnings. The princess asked each of her customers to give her one stone; in the end, with all the stones she had collected, she had a small pyramid erected for herself, near her father’s great one. A stele of the Saite period (Cairo, JE 2091), discovered among the ruins of the shrine of Isis, to the east of Cheops’ great pyramid, records that Pharaoh Cheops indeed built a pyramid for his royal daughter, princess Henutsen, beside the temple of Isis in the vicinity of the Sphinx.⁵⁹ This late document, whatever its historical validity, indicates that in Saite times, not long before Herodotus, there was a tradition regarding a pyramid which was constructed at Giza on behalf of Cheops’ daughter. The Greek historian essentially offers a scabrous novelistic variation of the same idea.

The prostitution motif – which also occurs in the Herodotean tale about Pharaoh Rhampsinitus and the trickster thief (2.121ε) – is not alien to Egyptian fictional literature, which also delighted in stories about adultery and women’s sexual licentiousness. In the Demotic romance of *Setne Khaemwaset and Naneferkaptah*, from an early Ptolemaic papyrus, a comparable stratagem is employed by the ghost of Ahweret, a daughter of the Pharaoh and wife of the prince and magician Naneferkaptah. Ahweret’s spirit apparently takes the form of a

57 See Lefebvre 1949, 83–85, 90; Lichtheim 1973–1980, I 219, 221f.; Brunner-Traut 1965, 18f., 23f., 255f.; Lalouette 1987, 179–181; Parkinson 1997, 103–105, 114–116, 119f., 123–127; Maspero 2002, 27–29, 33; Simpson 2003, 20f., 23f.; Bresciani 2007, 188f., 192; cf. How/Wells 1928, I 227; Grinsell 1947, 346f.; Posener 1956, 11–13; Morenz 1971, 114; Lloyd 1975–1988, I 108, III 62f.; Meltzer 1989, 51; Zivie-Coche 1991, 245; Haziza 2009, 166f.; Haziza 2012, 38f. The papyrus dates from the Hyksos period but most probably transmits an older, Middle Kingdom composition from the early second millennium BC.

58 See e.g. Legrand 1948, 52; Helck 1959, 2272. See also Nagy in this volume p. 116.

59 See Wiedemann 1890, 474; Daressy 1908; Legrand 1948, 155; Porter/Moss 1974, 18; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 71f.; Zivie-Coche 1972, 120f.; Zivie-Coche 1991, 15f., 98, 218–226, 244f., 312f.

beautiful woman and seduces the protagonist, archpriest Setne, with her sexual charms, in order to get back the powerful sorcery book which Setne has stolen from the tomb of Ahweret's husband.⁶⁰ The plot of the Demotic narrative is obviously not identical with the Herodotean story, given that Ahweret is not forced by her father to prostitute herself. Nonetheless we see again a royal princess who adopts the sexual behaviour of a licentious woman in order to serve the interests of a relative (her husband), conceivably at his behest.

3 Herodotus' storytelling art

As transpires from the foregoing analysis, the Herodotean account of Mycerinus has been pieced together from legendary materials of Egyptian provenance. These must have reached Herodotus' ears through the various informants who provided him with data about Egyptian history and lore.⁶¹ The manner in which these narrative materials have been organised and set out within Herodotus' second book is exceedingly artful and sophisticated. The entire section concerning Mycerinus teems with suggestive parallelisms, pregnant juxtapositions or contrasts of motifs, poignant symmetries, and dramatic ironies: these point to a deeper layer of narrative meaning under the superficial sequence of incidents. In this skilful narrative texture the expert hand of Herodotus, the master storyteller, can be recognised.

One of the qualities which make Herodotus a great narrator (arguably the first gifted 'short story writer' in the western tradition) is precisely the richness of the substrata which underlie his tales, the multiplicity of ever deeper levels or recesses which lurk under the superficially plain exposition of events and invite the reader to discover them. This kind of effect characterises not only Herodotus' major and famous *novellas* (Gyges and Candaules, Periander and his son, Xerxes and the wife of Masistes) but the totality of his narrative art; it may be detected even in the seemingly simple, paratactic successions of episodes and anecdotes

60 See Griffith 1900, 17–40, 82–141; Brunner-Traut 1965, 174–192, 297f.; Lichtheim 1973–1980, III 127–137; Lalouette 1987, 191–203; Maspero 2002, 99–118; Simpson 2003, 454–469; Quack 2005, 30–34; Bresciani 2007, 883–894; Agut-Labordère/Chauveau 2011, 21–39; cf. Wiedemann 1890, 474f.; Wiedemann 1926, 24; Legrand 1948, 52f.; Zivie-Coche 1972, 120; Haziza 2009, 217f. For another hypothesis concerning the Egyptian background of the prostitution motif, see Quack 2013, 74f.

61 A full and exemplary survey of Herodotus' informants about Egyptian matters is offered by Lloyd 1975–1988, I 77–140. See also Obsomer 1998; Haziza 2009, 15–33; Postel 2013.

such as those that make up the biography of Mycerinus. There is always the feeling that behind or under the story ostensibly told a wealth of further stories is hidden – many other possible combinations of the events, unspoken motivations, implicit explanations of the happenings, or imaginable interpretations of the characters' destinies, which resound as though from the inner side of the text. For this purpose, Herodotus the narrator employs a number of artifices which allow readers (or listeners) a glimpse into the mines of alternative or complementary tales beneath the surface of the story. Such artifices include, for example, enigmatic happenings and paradoxes, which are often coupled with articulations of causes and effects which fall short of full explanations; the breaks in narrative linearity and the creation of polyphony through the insertion of variant versions; and finally the implicit analogies with mythical or otherwise well-known traditions, which create a kind of deeper register or counterpoint to the actual telling of the story. All these techniques can be seen to operate in the tale of Mycerinus.

Let us consider, for example, the wooden cow which encloses the body of Mycerinus' daughter (2.129.3–130.1), a girl raped by her own father, according to one of the versions recorded (2.131.1). The historian's Hellenic audience would almost automatically recollect the myth of Pasiphaë, for whom Daedalus fabricated a very similar contraption: namely, a hollow, wooden effigy of a cow, inside which the Cretan queen hid herself, so as to copulate with a magnificent bull and satisfy her lust.⁶² Even though Herodotus does not overtly refer to this story, his Greek readers and listeners would doubtless call it to mind.⁶³ Significantly, in the myth of Pasiphaë the cow-like image envelops a woman involved in a perverse and illicit sexual act. The parallel of Pasiphaë implicitly strengthens the variant version of Mycerinus' story according to which the pharaoh committed incest with his own daughter; this latter variant offers indeed another instance of unlawful sex with a woman shut inside an effigy of a cow. At first sight, Herodotus would have his audience believe that he rejects this ribald story; at least he explicitly discredits its final detail, the cut-off hands of the punished handmaids (2.131.3). Nevertheless his stealthy evocation of Pasiphaë's comparable adventure insinuatingly reinforces the scabrous alternative version which the surface his-

⁶² For this myth, see Bacchyl. 26.5–10; Palaephatus 2 (p. 5 Festa); Diod. Sic. 4.77.1–3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 40. The story was also treated on the Attic stage, e.g. in Sophocles' *Minos* and Euripides' *Cretans*; see Gantz 1993, 260f.

⁶³ Cf. Picard 1933, 344f.; Schuhl 1936, 186; Aly 1969, 68; Mora 1985, 108; Bichler 2001, 169; Haziza 2009, 215; Wesselmann 2011, 291.

toriographical voice ostensibly seems to condemn. This is the storyteller's cunning which operates under the pose of the historical researcher.⁶⁴

The phonetics of Mycerinus' name presents another interesting case. Herodotus' Greek rendering, Μυκερῖνος, has become the standard appellation of this Egyptian ruler in modern western literature and scholarship. However, the ancient Greek world also knew other transcriptions. Diodorus offers the alternative form Μεγχερῖνος (1.64.6); Manetho calls the same pharaoh Μενχέρης (fr. 14, p. 46 Waddell = *FGrHist* 609 F2), while the king-list of Pseudo-Eratosthenes' *Anagraphei* (fr. 17, p. 218 Waddell = *FGrHist* 610 F1) gives him the name Μοσχερῆς, possibly a corruption of Μενχέρης or Μενχερῆς.⁶⁵ Interestingly, the forms Μεγχερῖνος and Μενχέρης seem more faithful to the original Egyptian name, *Mn-k3w-R'*. It may thus be suspected that Herodotus chose the rendering Μυκερῖνος in preference to the other alternatives for a particular purpose: namely, for the sake of an implicit word-play on μυκάσθαι, μυκηθμός, or μύκημα, the Greek onomatopoeic words for the bellowing of oxen and cows. This would ironically fit with Mycerinus' choice of the cow's form for the sarcophagus of his daughter. The pharaoh's personal *nomen* would then be perceived as a sarcastic omen of his later conduct, after his child's death. The man whose very name sounded like a cow's voice was naturally bound to display a predilection for the image of this same animal. The form Μυκερῖνος, unlike the variants transmitted by Diodorus and Manetho, also contains the syllable -κερ-, which might bring to mind κέρας, the Greek term for the cow's horns. The Herodotean account includes indeed a description of the horns of Mycerinus' cow-like effigy and mentions the very word κερέων (2.132.1). Once again, Herodotus does not overtly draw attention to these puns; but they would be easily audible to a Greek ear. The cunning narrator may be imagined having a silent laugh, behind the lines of his text, with his insinuated calembours.

The central paradox in Mycerinus' story concerns the reasons for the gods' shortening of the pharaoh's life. The oracle of Buto overturns in a disturbing manner the common beliefs about divine justice, world order, human guilt and responsibility, supernatural rewards and punishments.⁶⁶ As revealed by the prophecy (2.133.3), the tyrannical oppressors Cheops and Chephren were actually doing the will of the gods; hence, they were remunerated with prosperity and long life.

⁶⁴ In the words of Griffiths (2006, 139), it is an example of Herodotus' ability 'to have his cake and eat it too'.

⁶⁵ Cf. the apparatus of Waddell 1940, 218, and see Lloyd 1975–1988, III 77; von Beckerath 1982, 274.

⁶⁶ Cf. Kirchberg 1965, 45–47; Corcella 1984, 152; Romm 1998, 73f.; West 1998, 32f.

Mycerinus' benign behaviour, on the other hand, stood against the plans of fate and was therefore penalised. Herodotus does not cite any other explanation of Mycerinus' destiny apart from that provided by the oracle. But the reader is left to wonder whether there may have been other aspects of the pharaoh's behaviour which called for retribution. After all, the Herodotean narrative does include dark spots which cast a shadow on the exemplary portrait of Mycerinus' justice, as given programmatically in the beginning. Here belongs, notably, the alternative tale of incest, and more generally the pharaoh's obsessive attachment to his daughter, which he carries so far as to withhold the girl's body from its proper place in the tomb and unnaturally to keep a corpse in his palace.⁶⁷

Herodotus, of course, has not traced any explicit connection between Mycerinus' final penalty and his treatment of his daughter's body – alive or dead. Nonetheless there are notable parallelisms and symmetries between the first part of the pharaoh's story (the daughter's demise and burial) and the second one (the oracle and Mycerinus' reactions to it).⁶⁸ Such analogies incite the audience to reflect on the possible links between the pharaoh's two successive adventures, which share striking common patterns. In the first part of the narrative Mycerinus' daughter dies at a young age, before her time; her father's death in the second part is similarly premature, given that his reign is cut short by divine decree. Further, a lamp (λύχνος) burns all night long beside the dead maiden's sarcophagus (2.130.1), similar to the λύχνα which provide light for Mycerinus' nocturnal carousals (2.133.4). The daughter's peculiar fate, in the former episode, transcends the natural boundaries between light and darkness. Her corpse belongs to the gloomy world of death and is enclosed in obscurity, in the interior of a hollow sarcophagus. Nevertheless, the dying girl has asked to see the sunlight once every year, even after her death; and her cow-like coffin is accordingly exposed to the light of day in a regular yearly festival. In the second episode Mycerinus seeks to transgress the same natural boundary when he turns the dark of the night into day-like brightness by means of abundant lamp-light. All these parallels imply some association between the destinies of Mycerinus and his daughter.

In fact, there is a fundamental theme which unifies the two halves of Mycerinus' Herodotean βίος: namely, time and its manipulation or distortion. Mycerinus' ἔργος for his own daughter brings about a virtual reversion of human time. Incest indeed inverts the normal direction of time, as the Greeks were well aware through the story of Oedipus; in Oedipus' myth, the incestuous son becomes the husband of his mother, and the father is made the brother of his own children, as

67 Cf. West 1998, 33; Bichler 2001, 195.

68 On the connections between the two halves of Mycerinus' story, cf. Haziza 2009, 293.

though time were running in reverse.⁶⁹ Mycerinus' illicit sex with his child has the same effect; it turns the parent into husband of his own daughter. The pharaoh's weird treatment of the maiden's corpse produces an analogous effect. Mycerinus refuses to give up his dead child to the grave; he keeps her body in a chamber of his palace, among the living, and has it regularly carried around in the city, under the sunlight, as though the deceased person were still alive. This arrangement is again tantamount to a simulated regression of time; the dead girl continues to be lodged in the same house in which she passed her life and to go about in the city where she spent her earthly existence, as though she could be snatched back from death and restored to her previous living conditions. Mycerinus' actions make time move backwards.

The same interest in manipulating time is displayed in the sequel of the pharaoh's adventures, after the announcement of the fatal oracle. Mycerinus once again seeks to reverse the normal flow of the day by transforming nights into mornings. He thus strives to extend and multiply his years in an artificial manner – another attempt to alter the dimensions of time.⁷⁰ The control of time, however, is a prerogative of the gods, not a human capacity. Zeus, in myth, may triple the duration of a night, so as to enjoy the favours of Alcmene longer; or he may grant a mortal, such as Teiresias, an extraordinarily long existence which spans many human lifetimes.⁷¹ Mycerinus' usurpation of this exclusively divine privilege is therefore a transgression. The fate dealt by the gods to this transgressive pharaoh, notwithstanding its explicit justification, looks very much like retaliation in kind for the specific nature of the pharaoh's misdeeds. Faced with a man who twists and distorts time, the divinity cuts this man's time short.

This principle of castigation recalls the notion of *lo contrapasso*, which is implemented in the divine punishments of Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. The *contrapasso*, in the Dantean sense, does not entail simply a retributive punishment of the 'an eye for an eye' type. It rather means that the mechanics, the operation,

⁶⁹ See e.g. Soph. *OT* 457–460 and Sen. *Phoen.* 134–137. For the Oedipus myth, see Finglass in this volume.

⁷⁰ West 1998, 34 calls Mycerinus' purpose, as described in Herodotus, 'frankly silly'. In purely rationalistic terms it may appear so. But legendary narrative often obeys a different kind of 'logic', a fictional or mythical rationale; thus what would seem silly to strictly Cartesian thinking may in fact make deep and good sense in mythologised storytelling.

⁷¹ On the tripled night in the myth of Alcmene, see Pherecydes fr. 13c Fowler (= Schol. Hom. *Il.* 14.324, IV p. 62 Dindorf, III p. 642 Erbse); Diod. Sic. 4.9.2; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.8; Plaut. *Amph.* 113f.; and probably Plato Comicus' Νὺξ μακρά; Gantz 1993, 375f. On Teiresias' prolonged life, see [Hes.] *Melampodia* fr. 275 and 276 Merkelbach-West; Phlegon, *Mir.* 4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7; Schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 682 and 683 (pp. 225f. Scheer); Gantz 1993, 529.

or the structure of the penalty match the substance of the wrongful acts which are being chastised.⁷² Retaliatory punishments of this kind were already familiar from Greek myths. The motif is inherent in the stories about the underworld punishments of great sinners such as Tantalus or the criminals in Polygnotus' painting of the *Nekyia*. Tantalus, for instance, has misbehaved as a guest at Zeus' table, sharing with mortals the food and the drink of the gods, or serving to the gods the flesh of his own son as an unholy feast. He is therefore appropriately tormented in the netherworld through perpetual deprivation of food and drink.⁷³ Outside Hades the pattern is also detectable in other mythical contexts, such as the fate of Neoptolemus, who kills Priam on the sacred altar of Zeus at Troy and is himself slain beside another holy altar – that of Apollo in Delphi.⁷⁴

The *contrapasso* concept is also a favourite pattern in Herodotus' oeuvre. It can be traced in the biographies of many Herodotean transgressors who receive a kind of retribution tailor-made for the particular nature of their wrongdoing. The most obvious case is the Persian king Cambyses, who strikes the sacred Apis bull on the thigh with a dagger, and later dies of a festered wound on his own thigh – at the same bodily spot where he had hurt the holy animal, and apparently inflicted by the same weapon (3.27–29 and 3.64). But there are many more examples. Pheretime shows extreme cruelty towards her enemies the Barcaeans;

72 See Dante, *Inferno* XXVIII 118–142; Singleton 1989, 522–524. Dante's famous catchword is actually a faithful rendering – via Aquinas' Latin translation, *contrapassum* – of Aristotle's Greek coinage τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός (*Eth. Nic.* 1132b 21–33). In Aristotelian terms, the Dantean *contrapasso* is τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός κατ' ἀναλογίαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα ('retribution by analogy, not by equality', *Eth. Nic.* 1132b 32f.), by contrast with the simplest, primitive principle of 'Rhadamanthus' justice', i.e. 'if he should suffer the very things he committed, then justice would be straight' (*Eth. Nic.* 1132b 25–27: τὸ 'Ραδαμάνθυος δίκαιον' εἴ κε πάθοι τὰ τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο).

73 See Hom. *Od.* 11.582–592 (with Schol., II p. 523 Dindorf); Pind. *Ol.* 1.46–64; Eur. *Hel.* 388f., *IT* 386–388, *Or.* 4–10; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.1; Paus. 10.31.12; Sch. Lycoph. *Alex.* 152 (pp. 70f. Scheer); Ov. *Met.* 4.458f., 6.403–411; Hyg. *Fab.* 82 and 83; Gantz 1993, 531–535. Similarly in Polygnotus' painting, the man who has been undutiful to his father is being throttled by his father in the underworld (Paus. 10.28.4). The slothful man (Ocnos) is punished by unceasing and pointless labour, in that he is continually plaiting a rope eaten up by an ass that stands nearby (Paus. 10.29.1–2). The uninitiated women are compelled to carry water – presumably the water for their initiatory purification – in broken pitchers (Paus. 10.31.9, 11), i.e. endlessly and in vain. For discussion of all these and further examples, see Nilsson 1967, 690f.; Nilsson 1972, 116–118; Friedrich 1979, 99f.; Wesselmann 2011, 122–127.

74 See especially Paus. 4.17.4, where the pattern of retribution is expressly acknowledged; further, *Iliou Persis*, Proclus' argument, p. 144 West; *Little Iliad* fr. 25 West (= Paus. 10.27.2); Pind. *Pae.* 6.112–120; Eur. *Andr.* 1085–1157, *Hec.* 22–24, *Tro.* 16f., 481–483; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21; Paus. 10.24.4; Quint. Smyrn. 13.220–250; Verg. *Aen.* 2.533–558, 3.325–332; Gantz 1993, 651–657, 690–694. See also the bibliography in the previous footnote.

she has the men impaled around the wall of their city, chops off the breasts of their womenfolk, and nails these breasts to the wall as well (4.202.1). As may be easily imagined, all these transfixed corpses and limbs would soon have decomposed and been filled with worms, as they were rotting in the open air. After such a horrible deed, Pheretime suffers the same affliction on her own body; her flesh swarms with worms while she is still alive (4.205). The Egyptian queen Nitocris has her brother's murderers drowned by gathering them in a closed subterranean chamber and letting the river upon them through a secret channel. She dies similarly by asphyxiation, herself enclosed in another chamber which is filled with ashes (2.100). The *contrapasso* principle is here combined with a touch of presocratic cosmology and Heraclitean counterbalancing harmony, as the water's place is taken by its exactly opposite element.

The cycle of tales about the pyramid-builders itself includes another example of the pattern. Cheops and Chephren tyrannise and maltreat their people in order to construct their pyramids, the huge monuments with which they aspire to perpetuate their names. In retaliation, the Egyptians of the following centuries suppress these two pharaohs' names and attribute their buildings to an irrelevant person (2.124.1, 2.127.1, 2.128).⁷⁵ History thus becomes an exercise in dramatic irony. Not accidentally, this latter instance is also connected to the notions of time and the transcendence of time. The pyramid-building monarchs covet a kind of fame which will overcome temporal limits and ensure the survival of their memory for all posterity. In their own way they also aspire to exercise power over time, and for this purpose they resort to ungodly and inhuman practices. Thus Herodotus introduces the theme which will subsequently dominate, with different variations, Mycerinus' adventures.

It is natural that time should be a basic notion in the narrative about the pharaohs who erected the pyramids of Giza. In the eyes of the Greeks these monuments represented *par excellence* the capacity to withstand the passage of time. Classical authors were aware of their immense antiquity, even though they were not equipped to make exact calculations concerning their age. Herodotus has notoriously post-dated the pharaohs of the Giza pyramids; he places them in the period after Rhampsinitus (2.121–124.1) – presumably a composite figure based on the Ramesside rulers of the 19th and 20th Dynasty (13th to 11th centuries BC)

75 On Cambyses, see Konstantakos 2016 with further bibliography. See also in this volume Bowie pp. 33–36, Kingsley pp. 46–54, and Demont pp. 179–180. On Pheretime, cf. Friedrich 1979, 99f. On Cheops and Chephren, cf. Benardete 1969, 55f.

– while in fact Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus had reigned about thirteen centuries earlier (26th century BC).⁷⁶ Even with this grossly mistaken chronology, the ‘Father of History’ could appreciate the antiquity of the pyramids; he characteristically notes that Amasis (who had flourished a century before him) lived ‘very many years after’ the pyramid constructors (κατὰ Ἀμασιν ... ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας λιπομένων, 2.134.2–3). The blind pharaoh Anysis, who comes two generations after Mycerinus in the Herodotean narrative (2.137–140), is declared to have reigned over seven hundred years earlier than Amyrtaeus (2.140.2), the anti-Persian rebel who was a near contemporary of Herodotus himself (ca. 450 BC).⁷⁷ A later Greek historian, Diodorus of Sicily, overtly expresses his amazement at the pyramids’ endurance through the ages: their stones last forever, still preserving their original position and the entire structure intact after a thousand or three thousand years.⁷⁸ The pyramids of Giza symbolised the human endeavour to overpower time. It thus seems fitting that the narrative climax of the section dedicated to these monuments revolves around a pharaoh who strives all his life to manipulate time and place it under his own control.

Herodotus’ care for symmetrical patterns and ironical parallelisms is also discernible in the structure of the broader narrative concerning the pharaohs of the pyramids. This entire group of chapters (2.124–134) has all the marks of a distinct storytelling unity.⁷⁹ As already noted, Herodotus has placed it out of chronological order, an error for which many complicated interpretations have been put forward.⁸⁰ Already in ancient Egyptian tradition, Cheops, Chephren and Mycerinus

76 On Herodotus’ mistaken chronology and the various theories proposed to explain it, see Waddell 1939, 9f.; Legrand 1948, 41f., 54; Erbse 1955, 109–117; Wallinga 1959; Benardete 1969, 56; Lloyd 1975–1988, I 188f.; Lloyd 1988, 34f.; Obsomer 1998, 1439–1441; Lidov 2002, 212f.; Haziza 2012, 19–23; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 34–36.

77 On Herodotus’ knowledge of the oldness of the pyramids, cf. Wallinga 1959, 212–215, 221; Benardete 1969, 56; Lloyd 1975–1988, I 188; Lloyd 1988, 37; Lidov 2002, 212f. In general, cf. Vasunia 2001, 111–131.

78 Diod. Sic. 1.63.3–5: (the pyramids) τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνῃ θαυμαστὴν τινα κατάπληξιν παρέχονται τοῖς θεωμένοις. (...) πᾶσα δὲ στερεοῦ λίθου κατεσκευάσται, τὴν μὲν ἐργασίαν ἔχοντος δυσχερῆ, τὴν δὲ διαμονὴν αἰώνιον· οὐκ ἐλαττόνων γὰρ ἢ χιλίων ἐτῶν, ὥς φασι, διεληλυθότων εἰς τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίον, ὥς δὲ ἔνιοι γράφουσι, πλειόνων ἢ τρισχιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων, διαμένουσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ λίθοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σύνθεσιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν ἀσηπτον διαφυλάττοντες.

79 Cf. Erbse 1955, 112–115; Wallinga 1959, 204, 216–218; Corcella 1984, 123; Vannicelli 2001, 226; Lidov 2002, 209–213; Wesselmann 2011, 290f.; Haziza 2012, 20–23; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 35f.

80 See the bibliography in n. 76 above. Possibly the stories of the three pyramid-building pharaohs were picked up from a separate source and then joined with the traditions about the other

had come to be perceived as a closely connected triad of rulers who immediately succeeded one another. Historically, this was not true. Cheops' son Djedefre reigned for some years before Chephren; it is also possible that another king, named Baufre or Bakare (presumably to be identified with Manetho's Βίχερις and Pseudo-Eratosthenes' Βύρηης), may have briefly occupied the throne between Chephren and Mycerinus.⁸¹ The narrative in *Papyrus Westcar*, however, clearly implies that Cheops will be succeeded by his son Chephren, and the latter by his own son Mycerinus. Evidently, the close coexistence of the three neighbouring pyramids on the Giza plateau encouraged the Egyptians to regard the three corresponding monarchs as a consecutive royal trinity.⁸²

Herodotus must have received the stories of the three pyramid kings as a unity and moulded them into a distinct, clear-cut and rounded-off narrative block within his broader history of Egypt. For this purpose he used the symmetry of ring composition. The section on the first monarch, Cheops, culminates with the scabrous anecdote about this king's daughter whom her royal father forced to prostitution so as to finance his building project with her earnings. The princess, however, also made provision for her own memorial; she asked for one stone from each of her clients, and with all the stones she had collected she finally had a small pyramid built in her own name (2.126). This initial ribald tale is mirrored in an inverted manner by the final coda which Herodotus appends to the biography of Mycerinus, the last of the royal triad. Some Greeks claim that Mycerinus' pyramid was actually built by Rhodopis, a famous *hetaera* of Naucratis, who actually

pre-Saitic Egyptian kings, which Herodotus had received from different informants (the priests of Memphis according to the historian's own statement, 2.99ff.). During this process of amalgamation, the historian presumably inserted the monarchs of the Giza pyramids in the wrong place, perhaps due to a combination of misleading thoughts. A local informant at the area of Giza naturally comes to mind as a likely origin of the tales concerning the royal constructors of the three Giza pyramids. In the course of his narrative about the pyramids, Herodotus cites precisely an interpreter (ἑρμηνεύς, 2.125.6) who supposedly deciphered for him a financial inscription on Cheops' monument. Such a functionary may well have been the immediate source from which the material regarding the pyramid-builders was derived. Cf. Legrand 1948, 43f.; Erbse 1955, 112–115; West 1987, 262f.; West 1998, 31f.; Obsomer 1998, 1428, 1441; Haziza 2009, 21; Haziza 2012, 20, 22f.; Postel 2013, 112.

⁸¹ See Stevenson Smith 1971, 172–176; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 73, 76f.; von Beckerath 1975; von Beckerath 1982, 274; Lloyd 1988, 36; Haziza 2012, 22f.

⁸² See Lefebvre 1949, 85; Lichtheim 1973–1980, I 219; Brunner-Traut 1965, 19; Lalouette 1987, 180; Parkinson 1997, 115f., 124f.; Maspero 2002, 28; Simpson 2003, 21; Bresciani 2007, 189; cf. Stevenson Smith 1971, 172; Redford 1986, 159.

flourished in the time of Amasis.⁸³ Herodotus rejects this report for obvious chronological reasons but nonetheless includes it in his narrative and thus rounds off the pyramid section with a suitable finale (2.134–135).

It has often been observed that the stories of Cheops' daughter and Rhodopis are parallel; both women work as prostitutes and are said to have built a pyramid with the earnings of their trade.⁸⁴ It is more seldom noticed that these two episodes are also inverted images of each other, given that the two heroines hail from diametrically opposed ends of the social scale and move in opposite directions. Cheops' daughter is a royal princess who falls down to the lowest stratum of prostitution. Rhodopis, by contrast, starts from the inferior rank of the prostitute and rises upwards to finally obtain a pyramid for herself – an achievement which confers on her a quasi-royal status; in Egypt, obviously, only pharaohs and their queens could have such vastly expensive monuments built for their sake (a point well brought out by Herodotus 2.135.2). Later Strabo (17.1.33, p. 808 C) and Aelian (*VH* 13.33) tell exactly such a 'Cinderella-type' fairytale about the humble Rhodopis' rise to royalty: the pharaoh of Egypt was enchanted by the beauty of the lovely courtesan and married her; as a result, the *hetaera* that turned into a queen was honoured with a pyramid after her death. This fabulous tradition seems old; its narrative core is practically a variation of an episode from the New Kingdom *Tale of the Two Brothers*.⁸⁵ Similar stories about Rhodopis may well have been circulating in classical times. Perhaps Herodotus had in mind precisely such a tale, in which the beautiful *hetaera* became the pharaoh's wife and thus had a whole pyramid dedicated to her.⁸⁶ The Herodotean account opens with a royal princess who descends to prostitution, and closes with a prostitute elevated to a virtually royal distinction.

Both these stories, which externally frame the narrative about the pyramids, also have corresponding episodes in the interior of the narrative. The adventure of Cheops' daughter is replicated, in a sense, in the variant report about Mycer-

83 See also Nagy in this volume pp. 109–122.

84 See Wiedemann 1890, 475; Legrand 1948, 159; Aly 1969, 69; Benardete 1969, 56; Zivie-Coche 1972, 116f., 119–121, 135f.; Zivie-Coche 1991, 312f.; Vasunia 2001, 82–85; Lidov 2002, 207–213; Haziza 2006, 96f.; Haziza 2009, 216–218; Hollmann 2011, 202f.; Wesselmann 2011, 290; Quack 2013, 74.

85 See Lefebvre 1949, 151f.; Brunner-Traut 1965, 35f.; Lichtheim 1973–1980, II 207f.; Lalouette 1987, 166f.; Maspero 2002, 10–12; Simpson 2003, 86f.; Bresciani 2007, 381f.; cf. Zivie-Coche 1972, 136; Konstantakos 2013b.

86 See Hall 1904; van de Walle 1934, 307–312; Aly 1969, 69, 233, 237; Zivie-Coche 1972, 118–121, 132–136; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 84f.; Hansen 2002, 85–89; Lidov 2002; Konstantakos 2013b.

inus' incestuous affair with his own child (2.131). In both cases a princess is forcibly submitted by her father, the pharaoh, to a humiliating and unlawful kind of fornication.⁸⁷ Both fathers exploit the sexual favours of their daughters, the first one financially, the second one carnally. Rhodopis' association with the pyramid, on the other hand, finds its analogue in the tale about the shepherd Philitis, whose name was given to the Giza pyramids by the Egyptian people out of resentment against the tyrannical pharaohs (2.128). In both these traditions, which are recorded with equal brevity by the dismissive historian, a personage of low class (shepherd or prostitute) is considered as the builder of one or more of the great royal monuments of Giza. In essence the herdsman Philitis offers another instance of the same folktale type which is represented in the traditions about Rhodopis: namely the humble and poor hero, who begins with a lowly trade but eventually rises to kingly power and glory.⁸⁸ The artful interweaving of this double network of analogies is also worth noting. The story of Philitis, which corresponds to the final coda constituted by Rhodopis (2.134-5), comes first (2.128); it is followed by the tale of Mycerinus' rape of his daughter (2.131), which reflects Cheops' treatment of his own child at the beginning (2.126). This creates a narrative chiasmus in the interior of the account of the pyramids (see the diagram in table 1 on p. 107).

Ultimately the entire narrative about the pharaohs of the pyramids reflects Herodotus' programmatic observations about Egyptian life and customs, which are set out early in the second book. The Greek historian viewed Egypt as a kind of *mundus inversus*, a reversed image of the normal Hellenic society: a land where all customs and practices were the exact opposite of the corresponding ones in the other nations, where everything ran contrary to what his fellow-Greeks would have deemed as canonical and standard.⁸⁹ The same pattern of thought is consistently applied in the stories of the three pyramid-building monarchs. Every plot motif and narrative situation in the biographies of these kings displays an inversion of the normal and expected order of things. Every polarity is turned on its own axis, as its diametrically opposed constituents exchange their places. The royal maiden is degraded into a prostitute; conversely, the prostitute acquires a memorial of royal status. The nights are turned into days. Time in general flows backwards; the father becomes his daughter's consort. The dead corpse is kept among the living, staying in the palace and carried around in the city streets.

⁸⁷ Cf. Lidov 2002, 211; Haziza 2006, 97f.; Wesselmann 2011, 290.

⁸⁸ Cf. Wiedemann 1890, 477f.; Lloyd 1975–1988, III 76.

⁸⁹ See especially Hdt. 2.35–36; Burstein 1996, 594; Thomas 2000, 112, 130f.; Hartog 2001, 332–336; Haziza 2009, 155f., 235–241; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 37.

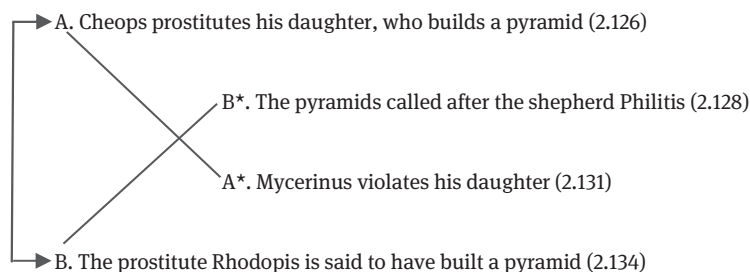
Even the metaphysics of divine will is affected. The impious and oppressive monarchs are rewarded with prosperity and long life, while the lenient and benign king is reprimanded and has his time cut short.

The pyramids were (as they still are) the emblematic monuments of Egypt, the symbols *par excellence* of Egyptian civilisation.⁹⁰ Probably for this reason Herodotus wove into his discourse about the pyramid-builders his programmatic thesis regarding the idiosyncrasy of the Egyptian world as a *mundus inversus*. The story of the most characteristic memorials of that world should exemplify by itself what Herodotus perceived as the peculiar character of the land and its entire culture.

In conclusion, the raw materials for Herodotus' chapters about the pharaohs of the Giza pyramids were of Egyptian provenance. But the shaping of the narrative, the selection and interweaving of the dominant themes, the creation of pregnant analogies and ironical antitheses – all these are the work of Herodotus the master storyteller. Much of Herodotus' charm in this respect derives from his ability to invest even a seemingly simple chain of anecdotes with a rich substratum of layer upon layer of narrative meaning. The symmetries, paradoxes, and ironies of the text allow us a glimpse into a wealth of unspoken tales, alternative or parallel or complementary to the one told – tales which enrich the narrative voice with their silent resonance.⁹¹

Table 1

Internal narrative chiasmus in Herodotus' account of the pyramids



⁹⁰ On the reputation of the pyramids of Giza in the ancient Greek and Roman world, see Helck 1959, 2271–2274; Vasunia 2001, 81f., 114f.

⁹¹ I owe many thanks to Lucia Athanassaki and Ewen Bowie for inviting me to take part in the conference on which this volume is based. To Ewen Bowie I am also grateful for his meticulous editing of my text and for the improvement of my English.

Gregory Nagy

Herodotus on queens and courtesans of Egypt¹

In his *History*, 2.124–134, Herodotus refers to various different stories about the pyramids at Giza in Egypt. This essay centres on stories claiming that the builder of the third of the three main pyramids was a woman. In some of these stories, the woman is a queen, while in others she is a courtesan. As I hope to show, there is a logic to this duality, to be explained in terms of Egyptian traditions as mediated by Greeks.

1 A story about an Egyptian queen who built the pyramid

I start with a story about a queen. This story is rejected as untrue by Herodotus, at 2.134–135, and his retelling of the story is so fragmentary that the status of the woman as queen needs to be reconstructed on the basis of references made by other authors to the same woman. In any case, the name of the woman in the story, as I will argue, shows that she is truly a queen of Egypt.

Her name in Greek is *Rhodōpis*. In the story about her as retold by Herodotus, 2.134–135, Rhodōpis was a most beautiful and alluring *hetaera*, ‘courtesan’.² This Rhodōpis, according to the reportage of ‘some Greeks’ as opposed to others (μετεξέτεροι ... Ἑλλήνων), supposedly commissioned the building of the third

1 A shorter version of this essay was published as “Herodotus and a courtesan from Naucratis” in the online publication *Classical Inquiries*, 2015.07.01, <http://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/herodotus-and-a-courtesan-from-naucratis/>. The present essay contains further analysis, some of which reappears in three other essays. They are, in chronological order: “Sappho’s ‘fire under the skin’ and the erotic syntax of an epigram by Posidippus,” 2015.07.08, <http://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/sapphos-fire-under-the-skin-and-the-erotic-syntax-of-an-epigram-by-posidippus/>; “Classical variations on a story about an Egyptian queen in love,” <http://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/classical-variations-on-a-story-about-an-egyptian-queen-in-love/>; “About three fair-haired Egyptian queens,” *Classical Inquiries* 2015.08.19, <http://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/about-three-fair-haired-egyptian-queens/>. In the third of these three articles, the three queens involved are Meresankh III, Nitōcris, and Berenice II (who married Ptolemy III Euergetes in 246 BC). In the present essay, only Meresankh III and Nitōcris are involved. For a discussion of these traditions, focusing on Mycerinus, see Konstantakos pp. 77–107 in this volume.

2 Herodotus 2.134.1.

and smallest of the three main pyramids at Giza.³ But Herodotus says that this reportage is incorrect,⁴ and he prefers to accept an alternative version according to which it was the pharaoh Mycerinus who commissioned the building of this third pyramid.⁵ The pharaohs who commissioned the first and the second of these pyramids, Herodotus goes on to say, were Cheops and Chephrên.⁶ As we know from Egyptian sources, the three pharaohs Cheops and Chephrên and Mycerinus ruled during the Fourth Dynasty, dating from the third millennium BC.

By contrast, as Herodotus emphasizes, the courtesan named Rhodôpis must have lived in a much later era, during the rule of the pharaoh Amasis.⁷ As we know from both Egyptian and Greek sources, this pharaoh belongs in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and he lived in the sixth century BC.

For the moment, I focus on two things that Herodotus says about this woman: first, her name was Rhodôpis in Greek, and, second, there were ‘other Greeks’—so, Greeks other than Herodotus—who believed that she built the third pyramid at Giza.

So, who were these ‘other Greeks’ who accepted the idea that Rhodôpis and not Mycerinus gets credit for the building of the third pyramid? I propose that the stand-in for these ‘other Greeks’ is Hecataeus of Miletus, a predecessor of Herodotus who dates from the sixth/fifth centuries BC.⁸ There is ample evidence to show that Herodotus often cites Hecataeus as his anonymous foil.⁹ In this case, Herodotus may be criticizing Hecataeus for accepting the idea that Rhodôpis commissioned a pyramid to be built.¹⁰

But Herodotus agrees with his anonymous foil about one thing: that this Rhodôpis was a courtesan. Where they disagree is whether a courtesan could have afforded the cost of building a pyramid. The anonymous foil of Herodotus apparently thought that Rhodôpis could really afford it, whereas Herodotus himself evidently disagreed.

3 Again, Herodotus 2.134.1.

4 Again, Herodotus 2.134.1.

5 Herodotus 2.129–133.

6 The narrative of Herodotus about the three pyramids at Giza begins at 2.124 and extends into 2.134.

7 Herodotus 2.134.2.

8 Here I agree with the view of Lidov 2002, 214.

9 Nagy 1990, 67 = 2§30, 191, 224 = 8§13n54, 321 = 11§15, 331 = 11§29, 335 = 11§35.

10 In this connection, I note a fragment of Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F358, cited by Athenaeus 9.410e, where Hecataeus refers to an exotic word (χερόμακτρα, as a luxurious form of headwear for women) that he cites from the songs of Sappho, fr. 101.1 Voigt. So, Hecataeus is actually referring here to the usage of Sappho.

Before we consider further the reasoning of Herodotus and his anonymous foil in identifying Rhodōpis as a courtesan, however, let us consider from an Egyptian point of view the idea that a woman known in Greek as Rhodōpis could have commissioned the building of the third pyramid. Here I find it most relevant to highlight the meaning of the Greek form *Rhodōpis*, ‘the one with the rosy face’ — or ‘the one with the rosy looks’. From an Egyptian point of view, as we will now see, such a meaning would be a perfect fit for at least one particular queen of Egypt.

Here I focus on ancient reports about a queen named Nitōcris who ruled Egypt toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty, in the late third millennium BC. The dating and the naming of this queen originate from the Egyptian historian Manetho, who lived in the third century BC. In a surviving paraphrase from the work of Manetho, who composed in Greek, we read these further details about Nitōcris the queen:

Νίτωκρις, γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν γενομένη, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, ἣ τὴν τρίτην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιβ’.

Nitōcris was the most noble and beautiful of all the women of her generation. She was fair [*xanthē*] in complexion [*chroia*]. It was she who erected the third pyramid. She ruled for twelve years.

Manetho *FGrH* 609 F2 (p. 26) lines 18–21¹¹

I translate *xanthē* for the moment here as ‘fair’, as in the English expression ‘fair-skinned’, but we are about to see that the translation ‘blonde’ is likewise valid. According to the relevant paraphrase of Manetho by Eusebius in this context, the description of Nitōcris in the surviving Armenian translation of Eusebius’ original Greek wording is rendered in Latin as *flava rubris genis* ‘blonde with blushing cheeks’. These descriptions of Nitōcris correspond closely to the meaning of the Greek name *Rhodōpis*, ‘the one with the rosy face’—or ‘the one with the rosy looks’. A striking point of comparison is the portrayal of the sensuous Beroe, daughter of Aphrodite and Adonis, in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (42.75–78): the cheeks of this nymph are described as ‘having rosy looks, *rhodoeidea*’ (77, ῥοδοειδέα) and showing a natural blush that needs no cosmetics simulating ‘the complexion [*chrōs*-] of a blonde [*xanthē*]’ (76, ξανθόχροϊ κόσμῳ).

Returning to the appearance of Nitōcris, I propose that the description of this queen by Manetho derives not from Greek literary allusions but from original

¹¹ The chronology here is further supported, it seems, by Eratosthenes, who lived in the third/second centuries BC: see *FGrH* 610 F1 κβ. See also Dio Cassius 62.6.

Egyptian traditions. Manetho describes Nitōcris as a blonde with blushing cheeks not because he thinks that this woman from the 6th Dynasty, dating back to the third millennium BC, can somehow be compared to a woman named Rhodōpis who dates back only as far as the sixth century BC. Instead, I propose that the appearance of Nitōcris as described by Manetho is a traditional Egyptian representation that becomes a model for describing, many centuries later, the appearance of a courtesan by way of renaming her Rhodōpis, that is, ‘the one with the rosy looks’.

In making this proposal I highlight another Egyptian queen, even earlier than Nitōcris, who is likewise estheticised as a blonde. Painted on the west wall of the main room of a burial chamber at Giza is the image of Queen Hetep-heres II, whose head of hair is coloured yellow, accompanied by her daughter, Queen Meresankh III (sometimes spelled Mersyankh), whose head of hair is by contrast colored black. The original excavator, the archaeologist George Reisner (1927), already interpreted the yellow colouring as standing for blonde hair. Here is the way he described the image of Queen Hetep-heres II: ‘her short hair is painted a bright yellow with fine red horizontal lines’.¹²

This archaeologist went on to say about Queen Hetep-heres II:

It seems clear that this lady was blonde or red-haired, the first of either type to be recorded among the black-haired people of the Pyramid Age. The explicit statement on the east wall that Hetep-heres II was a daughter of Cheops excludes the possibility that she was an important foreigner; but, of course, she may have had foreign blood from her mother whom we do not know, or from some more remote ancestress. Her mother may have been a fair-haired Libyan from the western desert.¹³

In more recent research, however, this formulation by Reisner has not generally been supported. It has been argued, for example, that the image of Queen Hetep-heres II shows her wearing a blond wig, and that she was not necessarily a natural blonde.¹⁴

What matters for the image, however, is not whether the queen was a *natural blonde*. What matters instead, I propose, is that she is represented as a *notional blonde*. And I offer the same proposal in the case of a later queen like Nitōcris.

And what also matters is the pattern of mental association that links blonde women with pyramids.¹⁵

¹² Reisner 1927, 66.

¹³ Again Reisner 1927, 66.

¹⁴ Dunham/Simpson 1974, 2, 5, 14.

¹⁵ See further Manuelian 2015.08.19.

2 A story about an Egyptian courtesan who built the pyramid

We have just seen, then, an Egyptian story about a fair-skinned and blonde queen of Egypt who supposedly built the third pyramid at Giza. And we have also seen that the Greek name *Rhodōpis* ‘the one with the rosy face’ — or ‘the one with the rosy looks’ — fits the appearance of such a queen. But we have also seen that Herodotus and his anonymous foil, who was probably Hecataeus of Miletus, both link the name of *Rhodōpis* not with a queen but with a courtesan. According to the anonymous foil, as I have already noted, it was a courtesan named *Rhodōpis* who actually built the pyramid, whereas Herodotus rejects that particular detail in the story. But that same detail, about the building of the third pyramid by a courtesan known as *Rhodōpis*, is in fact independently attested in Greek sources other than the anonymous foil of Herodotus. I highlight as my primary example a version of the story that we find in Diodorus of Sicily (first century BC) as paraphrased from the work of another Hecataeus (from Abdera, fourth century BC: he is not the Hecataeus from Miletus):

ταύτην δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι Ῥοδώπιδος τάφον εἶναι τῆς ἐταίρας, ἥς φασι τῶν νομαρχῶν τινὰς ἔραστὰς γενομένους διὰ φιλοστοργίαν ἐπιτελέσαι κοινῇ τὸ κατασκευάσμα.

This one [= this third pyramid] is said by some to be the tomb of *Rhodōpis* the courtesan [ἐταίρας]. They say that some of the nomarchs [νομάρχαι] became her lovers and, on account of their obsession with their affection for her, they jointly undertook the commissioning of the building.

Diodorus 1.64.14, paraphrasing from Hecataeus
FGrH 264 F25¹⁶

Looking at the overall context of the text in which this passage is embedded, I note with great interest how the narration keeps stressing the diversity of Egyptian traditions regarding the historical circumstances that led to the building of the three great pyramids at Giza:

περὶ δὲ τῶν πυραμίδων οὐδὲν ὅλως οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι συμφωνεῖται.

16 *FGrH* vol. 3a p. 44 lines 11–13.

On the subject of the pyramids, there is no general agreement among the native informants or among the historians who write about it.

Diodorus 1.64.13, paraphrasing from Hecataeus
FGrH 264 F25¹⁷

In fact, the version I just quoted, claiming that Rhodōpis gets credit for the third of the three main pyramids at Giza, is just the third of three Egyptian versions to be found in the text of Diodorus. According to the first version, the three pyramids were built by three pharaohs whose names are spelled Chemmis and Cephren and Mycerinus.¹⁸ These three pharaohs correspond to Cheops and Chephren and Mycerinus in the separate narrative of Herodotus.¹⁹ So, in this version as also in the version reported by Herodotus, the third pyramid had been built by Mycerinus. But then the text of Diodorus goes on to record a radically different, second version in which the three pharaohs who built the three pyramids were Armaios and Amōsis and Inarōs.²⁰ Finally, the text of Diodorus gives a third version of the story, and, in this one, the third of the three pyramids was collectively built by the νομάρχαι, ‘nomarchs’, of Egypt for the sake of a courtesan named Rhodōpis, as we saw in the passage I already quoted from Diodorus.²¹

It is clear from this reportage that the story about a courtesan who built the third pyramid comes from a native Egyptian tradition, though this tradition is viewed here through the lens of the Greek language, since the name Rhodōpis is of course Greek. Still, the concept of Rhodōpis as the woman with the rosy looks is originally Egyptian. We have already seen that the same concept fits the queen Nitōcris, dating from the Sixth Dynasty in the late third millennium BC, who is said to have built the third pyramid: she too is a woman with rosy looks. But the question remains: why is such an Egyptian tradition about a fair-skinned blonde applied to a courtesan, not only to a queen?

¹⁷ *FGrH* vol. 3a p. 44 lines 8–9.

¹⁸ Diodorus 1.63.2–1.64.9. In 1.64.10–11, there is an added detail: the three pharaohs each built three other pyramids, smaller ones, for their *gunaikes* ‘women’ (I avoid assuming that all these women are ‘wives’). The paraphrasing in these passages of Diodorus derives from Hecataeus *FGrH* 264 F25.

¹⁹ Again Herodotus 2.124–2.134

²⁰ Diodorus 1.64.13–1.64.14. Again, the paraphrasing in these passages of Diodorus derives from Hecataeus *FGrH* 264 F25.

²¹ Diodorus 1.64.14, paraphrasing from Hecataeus *FGrH* 264 F25.

3 Egyptian traditions about princesses, courtesans, and queens

In the Egyptian chronology of pharaohs, as we saw from the documentation provided by Manetho, Nitōcris figures as a female pharaoh who built the third pyramid toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty, in the late third millennium BC. But this report as recorded by Manetho does not really contradict the other report, recorded not only by Herodotus but also by other sources such as Diodorus, according to which the third pyramid had been built by Mycerinus in the Fourth Dynasty, at an earlier point in the third millennium BC. I say this because Mycerinus in the Fourth Dynasty *had left unfinished the project of building the third pyramid*, as we see in the report of Diodorus.²² Here I take up the argumentation advanced by an Egyptologist, Christiane Zivie-Coche, who shows that Nitōcris in the Sixth Dynasty could have been given credit not only for finishing the project but also, by way of a deliberate stretch in the narrative, for having done it all herself.²³ We are still left, however, with a big problem here: how do we reconcile (1) the Egyptian story, as reported by Manetho, about the building of the third pyramid as a tomb for Nitōcris the queen and (2) the Egyptian story, as reported by Hecataeus by way of Diodorus, about the building of this same pyramid as a tomb for the courtesan Rhodōpis? In the case of Rhodōpis, the actual builders are the nomarchs of Egypt, who are the lovers of the courtesan: so, the courtesan herself is not the builder. In the case of Nitōcris, by contrast, she herself undertakes the project of building the pyramid.

We can find a solution to the problem, I propose, if we think of these two Egyptian traditions anthropologically in terms of myths that express the shifting dynamics of wealth, power, and prestige. From my lengthy experience in the study of ancient Greek myths, I have learned that their historical value is all too often ignored by modern researchers who fail to see them for what they really are, that is, symbolic expressions of social realities. A telltale sign of such ignorance is the supercilious use of such vague terms as ‘legend’ and ‘folklore’ in referring to ancient Greek myths. Applying my experience to the study of ancient Egyptian myths, I propose that, here too, the stories we read about such figures as Nitōcris the queen and Rhodōpis the courtesan must not be dismissed as merely ‘legend’ and ‘folklore’. Instead, we may view such stories as myths that explore the shifting social ideologies of pharaonic Egypt through the ages.

²² Diodorus 1.64.7–8, paraphrasing from Hecataeus *FGH* 264 F25.

²³ Zivie-Coche 1972, 130, 134.

Using the term ‘myth’ in such a modified way, I now apply it to another story about the building of a pyramid. This time, the protagonist is not a queen or a courtesan but a princess. And, in this myth, the princess takes on the role of a courtesan. As we will see, *performing the role of a courtesan mediates between the roles of princess and queen*.

This other story is actually embedded in the *History* of Herodotus, at 2.126.1–2, where we read that the pharaoh Cheops, builder of the first and largest of the three pyramids at Giza, had a daughter whom he forced into prostitution, and that this daughter, using the proceeds that she earned as a prostitute, financed the building of a small pyramid for herself, situated in front of her father’s great pyramid.

So, we see here a third variation on the theme of building a pyramid. In the first case, we saw that the pyramid is meant for a queen named Nitōcris. Then, in the second case, it is meant for a courtesan named Rhodōpis. And here, in the third case, it is meant for an unnamed princess.

Thus Herodotus, who denies that the third pyramid was built for a courtesan named Rhodōpis, nevertheless affirms that a small pyramid next to the first pyramid was actually built for the daughter of a pharaoh.

And there is also a related context elsewhere in the *History* of Herodotus, at 2.100.1–4, where the historian tells about the building of a grand hall by Nitōcris the queen, who takes vengeance on the killers of her brother by destroying them inside this hall, thus transforming her building into a tomb. As one commentator has remarked, ‘Thus even in the *History*, Nitocris builds something like a pyramid’.²⁴

4 The story about a non-Egyptian courtesan named Rhodōpis, according to the version told by Herodotus

In the story as actually retold by Herodotus, at 2.134–135, there did in fact exist a beautiful *hetaera* or ‘courtesan’ named Rhodōpis. And, yes, once upon a time she lived in Egypt. But when did she live? For Herodotus, the lifetime of Rhodōpis was far removed from the era when the pyramids at Giza were built, and, besides,

²⁴ Gera 1997, 103.

she could not even have afforded the cost of building a pyramid. And, as we are about to see, this Rhodōpis was not even Egyptian.

Before we go any further, I need to repeat four pieces of information:

- 1) Herodotus does not believe the reportage of ‘some Greeks’ as opposed to others (μετεξέτεροι ... Ἑλλήνων) — Greeks who claim that Rhodōpis commissioned the building of the third and smallest of the three pyramids at Giza.²⁵ Herodotus says that this reportage is incorrect,²⁶ and he prefers to accept an alternative version, according to which it was the pharaoh Mycerinus who commissioned the building of this third pyramid.²⁷
- 2) The pharaohs who commissioned the first and the second of these pyramids were reportedly Cheops and Chephrēn.²⁸
- 3) As we know from Egyptian sources, the three pharaohs Cheops and Chephrēn and Mycerinus ruled during the Fourth Dynasty, dating from the third millennium BC.
- 4) By contrast, as Herodotus says, the courtesan named Rhodōpis must have lived in a much later era, during the rule of the pharaoh Amasis.²⁹ As we know from both Egyptian and Greek sources, this pharaoh belongs in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and he lived in the sixth century BC.

And now I introduce a fifth and most decisive piece of information. According to the story as reported by Herodotus, at 2.134–135, the courtesan Rhodōpis was not even Egyptian: rather, she was a Thracian by birth, and she had once been a slave of a man from the island state of Samos named Iadmōn; further, another slave owned by this Samian man Iadmōn was Aesop, described as a λογοποιός—the word is sometimes translated as ‘maker of prose’.³⁰

In reconstructing this nexus of relationships, Herodotus relies in part on his investigation of various traditions concerning the death of Aesop at Delphi, observing that a grandson of Iadmōn, also named Iadmōn, once received from the Delphians a blood-price as a compensation for their having killed Aesop, who was the former slave of Iadmōn the grandfather.³¹ But how did Rhodōpis, who, like Aesop, had been a slave of the elder Iadmōn, wind up in Egypt? According to Herodotus, the man who brought her there as a slave was not the elder Iadmōn

25 Herodotus 2.134.1.

26 Herodotus 2.134.1.

27 Herodotus 2.129–133.

28 Herodotus 2.124–134.

29 Herodotus 2.134.2.

30 Herodotus 2.134.3.

31 Herodotus 2.134.4.

but another Samian, named Xanthēs.³² We know from other sources, including Aristotle's *Constitution of the Samians*, that the ownership of Aesop as slave was transferred from someone called Xanthos the Samian to another Samian, called Idmōn.³³ In terms of these narratives, I infer that this Xanthos the Samian is a multiform of Xanthēs the Samian (as he is called by Herodotus), while Idmōn the Samian is a multiform of Iadmōn the Samian (again, as he is called by Herodotus). And I infer further that Xanthēs was the second owner of Rhodōpis as slave and that Iadmōn was the first owner, while, conversely, the multiform Xanthos was the first owner of Aesop and the multiform Idmōn was the second owner. According to one story, the beautiful Rhodōpis and the ugly Aesop had once been lovers. This story is transmitted by Pliny the Elder. In this version, she is acknowledged as the builder of the third pyramid at Giza:

haec sunt pyramidum miracula, supremumque illud, ne quis regum opes miretur, minimam ex iis, sed laudatissimam, a Rhodopide meretricula factam. Aesopi fabellarum philosophi conserva quondam et contubernalis haec fuit, maiore miraculo, tantas opes meretricio esse conquisitas.

These, then, are the wondrous things having to do with the pyramids. And, to top it all off—in case anyone isn't already filled with marvel at the opulence of the kings [pharaohs]—the very smallest of them [= the pyramids], but the one that is most admired, was made by a little courtesan [*meretricula*] named Rhodopis. She was once upon a time a fellow-slave of Aesop, the philosopher who was master of fables [*fabellae*]. And she was also his bed-mate [*contubernalis*]. But here is the thing that is even more wondrous—that such enormous wealth could have been amassed by way of prostitution [*meretricium*].

Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 36.[17.]82

That said, let us continue with the version of story as told by Herodotus, at 2.134–135. Once she arrived in Egypt, Rhodōpis 'worked' as a sex-slave but later won her freedom from slavery when she was ransomed for a hefty sum of money by a man from Mytilene, which was then the foremost city of Lesbos, and this man happened to be Charaxus, a brother of Sappho the *μουσοποιός* or 'maker of songs'.³⁴ Now a free woman, but continuing to make a living as a courtesan in Egypt, Rhodōpis became very wealthy, since she was so 'sexually irresistible', *ἐπαφρόδιτος*,³⁵ and she eventually gave away one tenth of her amassed wealth by sending iron spits (used for the roasting of sacrificial beef) as an offering to the

32 Herodotus 2.135.1.

33 Aristotle fr. 573 Rose; see also Plutarch, *On the delays of divine vengeance* 556f.

34 Herodotus 2.135.1.

35 Herodotus 2.135.2.

temple of Apollo at Delphi.³⁶ So, in the version of the story as reported by Herodotus, Rhodōpis was wealthy enough to make such an offering, but certainly not so wealthy as to be able to finance the building of the third pyramid at Giza.

Only now in the narrative does Herodotus point out the place in Egypt where Rhodōpis was making her living: it was in the city of Naucratis, a Greek enclave in Egypt, and this enclave was famous for its ἑταῖραι, ‘courtesans’: they were ἐπαφρόδιτοι, ‘sexually irresistible’, as Herodotus puts it.³⁷ Eventually, Rhodōpis became κλεινή, ‘famed in song’, and that is how all Greeks came to know her name, Rhodōpis.³⁸ In a later period, Herodotus adds, there was another ἑταῖρα, ‘courtesan’, who became almost as αἰδοίμος, ‘songworthy’ as Rhodōpis had been throughout the Greek-speaking world (ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα): she was a woman named Archidicē, but even this courtesan was not as περιλεσχίνευτος, ‘talked-about in men’s clubs’ as was Rhodōpis. As we know from a variety of other narratives, a λέσχη, ‘men’s club’, is considered to be an ideal venue for performances of song and poetry.³⁹

Having thus highlighted the widespread fame of Rhodōpis in the song culture of the ancient Greek world, Herodotus now proceeds to wind up this part of his story by returning, in ring composition, to the relationship between this sexually irresistible woman and the man who paid for her freedom, Charaxus of Mytilene, brother of Sappho. This man, as the lover of Rhodōpis, figures in the songs of Sappho, who sings of his relationship disapprovingly.⁴⁰ That is what Herodotus reports, evidently linking what he says about the fame of Rhodōpis throughout the Greek-speaking world with the songs once sung by Sappho herself about the love-affair of her errant brother with this sexually irresistible courtesan. A nearly complete text of one of these songs has now come to light, and the *editio princeps* has been published by Dirk Obbink.⁴¹ In Sappho’s songs, however, as some ancient readers report, the name of the courtesan was not Rhodōpis but Dōricha.⁴²

³⁶ Herodotus 2.135.2–5; there is a reference to these spits in Cratinus fr. 269 K–A.

³⁷ Herodotus 2.135.5.

³⁸ Herodotus 2.135.5

³⁹ See for example the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* (*Vita* 1.141–146), as quoted and analysed by Nagy 2009|2010:37; see also Yatromanolakis 2007, 321–325.

⁴⁰ Herodotus 2.135.6.

⁴¹ Obbink 2014.

⁴² *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1800; Posidippus 122 Austin and Bastianini, quoted in Athenaeus 13.596c; Strabo 17.1.33 808C (I will comment on this text at a later point). On [Δ]ωρίχα at line 11 of Sappho fr. 15 Voigt, see Yatromanolakis 2007, 330–331. For more on Dōricha, see Nagy 2015a.

5 From Nitōcris to Rhodōpis

On the basis of what we have seen so far, I have reconstructed an Egyptian story that tells about a beautiful queen named Nitōcris, renowned for her fair complexion, who gets credit—one way or another—for the building of the third pyramid at Giza. But we are left with another big problem: how are we to account for the naming of this Egyptian woman Nitōcris as Rhodōpis in the Greek language? Granted, the naming is apt, since the Greek form *Rhodōpis* means ‘she with the rosy looks’, as we have already seen, and thus the Greek renaming of Nitōcris as Rhodōpis actually matches the primary aspect of this woman’s beauty as described in terms of the Egyptian tradition preserved by Manetho: ‘she was fair [ξανθή] in complexion [χρoιά].’⁴³ But the question remains: how did Nitōcris get a Greek name that translates, as it were, a description of her appearance as reported in Egyptian traditions?

For an answer, I propose that we need to reconstruct the Egyptian traditions forward in time, all the way from the early era of the queen Nitōcris in the Sixth Dynasty, that is, in the third millennium BC, up to the far later era of a courtesan named Rhodōpis who lived under the rule of the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, in the sixth century BC. Here it becomes essential to highlight a detail in the relevant narrative of Herodotus, at 2.134–135: according to this narrative, as we have already seen, Rhodōpis made her living as a courtesan in the city of Naucratis. This city, as we have also seen, was a Greek enclave in Egypt, and, I must now add, it had been created through the patronage of the pharaoh Amasis, whom Herodotus describes elsewhere as a φιλέλλην, ‘philhellene’.⁴⁴ In the sixth century BC, which was the era of Rhodōpis, this city Naucratis functioned as a grand emporium (ἐμπόριον) consolidating the economic and political efforts of various Greek city-states,⁴⁵ and two of these member states were Mytilene, the most important city on the island of Lesbos, and the island-city of Samos.⁴⁶ As we have already seen, Mytilene was the city of Sappho’s brother Charaxus, who was the lover of Rhodōpis, while Samos was the city of Iadmōn and Xanthēs, who had once been the slave-owners of this same Rhodōpis.

⁴³ Again, Manetho *FGrH* 609 F2 (p. 26).

⁴⁴ Herodotus 2.178.1. See also Zivie-Coche 1972, 135.

⁴⁵ Herodotus 2.179.

⁴⁶ Herodotus 2.178.2–3. On the roles of Mytilene and Samos in the Hellēnion at Naucratis, the primary source is Herodotus 2.178.2. There is a useful commentary by Lloyd 2007, 373 on the special importance of the Samian presence at Naucratis.

It is in the cosmopolitan context of this Greek city Naucratis-in-Egypt, as it flourished during the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis in the sixth century BC, that we can finally come to terms with the kind of Greek-Egyptian cultural convergences that could lead to the translation of Nitōcris, as a concept, by way of a name like Rhodōpis. But I propose that the Thracian ῥοταῖρα or ‘courtesan’ named Rhodōpis was not the model for this concept. Just the opposite, Rhodōpis was modeled on the courtesan or queen of pre-existing Egyptian traditions centering on the multivalent figure of Nitōcris.

That is why, even though the courtesan loved by Sappho’s brother was named Dōricha in the songs of Sappho, she was renamed or even rethought as Rhodōpis in the narrative of Herodotus. True, the historian did not accept the identification of this Rhodōpis with the queen who built her own pyramid in the Egyptian traditions, but he still thought of such an exotic Rhodōpis as the model for the courtesan so dearly loved by Sappho’s brother.⁴⁷

6 From Rhodōpis back to Nitōcris

In the context of the Greek-Egyptian cultural syncretism that evolved in the city of Naucratis during the sixth century BC, the place of origin for the Egyptian woman who somehow had a pyramid built for herself can actually get transferred to the Greek city of Naucratis. A shining example is the retelling of the story by Strabo, 17.1.33 808C. While describing the third pyramid at Giza, Strabo identifies this building as ‘the tomb of the courtesan [ῥοταῖρα]’, and the text makes a reference here to the many ἑρασταί, ‘lovers’, of this courtesan, all of whom contributed to the making of the pyramid. This reference corresponds to what we have read earlier in the text of Diodorus about the nomarchs of Egypt who were lovers of Rhodōpis, and, so far, we see once again a convergence of traditional Egyptian themes centering on the idea of a pyramid built for a courtesan. Moreover, the text of Strabo even links the courtesan buried in the third pyramid with the woman known as Dōricha — that is what he calls her — who lived in Naucratis and who was loved by Sappho’s brother Charaxus. But then the text of Strabo narrates a myth that shifts the focus from the many lovers of this courtesan to a single lover who will now have the power to make her a queen. In this myth as retold in the text of Strabo, Dōricha is at this point rethought as Rhodōpis and

47 Here I repeat my opinion, as expressed earlier on, that Hecataeus of Miletus is a missing link in what Herodotus has to say about the courtesan Rhodōpis.

described as a young girl who lives in Naucratis. One fine day, this girl is taking a bath outdoors, quite naked, while her clothing is being guarded by her handmaidens, and then, all of a sudden, an eagle swoops down and carries away one of her sandals, flying all the way to Memphis where it drops the sandal into the lap of the pharaoh, who is rendering judgments in the courtyard outside the palace. The king so admires the shape of the sandal (it shows a ῥυθμός, *rhuthmos*, that apparently conveys the beauty of the girl's dance-steps) that he sends emissaries everywhere throughout Egypt in search of the woman to whom the sandal belongs. When Rhodōpis is finally found in Naucratis, she is brought to the pharaoh in Memphis. The king now makes Rhodōpis his queen and eventually provides for the pyramid that will house her body. So, once again, we have returned to the traditional variations on the theme of an Egyptian woman whose identity modulates from courtesan to princess to queen.⁴⁸

We have seen two Greek signatures for this Egyptian woman. The first of these is her place of origin, which is the Greek city of Naucratis. And her second Greek signature is the name that tells about her irresistible sexuality. It is the Greek name Rhodōpis — a name that becomes for the Egyptian queen an eternal sign of her fair skin, her rosy complexion, her blond hair. Her story is the story of the blonde ambition, as it were, of queens and courtesans in Egypt.

⁴⁸ This myth is also attested in Aelian, *Varied Inquiries* 13.33.

II. Scientist

Vasiliki Zali

Herodotus mapping out his genre: the interaction of myth and geography in the Libyan *logos*

1 Introduction

Myth lies at the heart of Herodotus' *Histories* and his effort to present and explain the human past. Myth appears in many forms and guises and is inextricably intertwined with the *Histories*' historical, political, anthropological, geographical and ethnographical material. It carries authority and also enhances the interpretative strands, promotes readers' understanding of contemporary events, and provides (often additional) explanatory frameworks.¹

In this chapter I will focus in particular on the relationship between myth and geography. Herodotus' method in compiling his geographical descriptions is patently influenced by contemporary scientific ideas but mythical elements are interspersed throughout. Natural phenomena are often explained on the basis of myths, myths are attached to certain peoples, places or cultic sites and are thus intimately connected to the Greek or non-Greek landscape. How do myths interact with the geographical landscape and what do they offer to the narrative and Herodotus' historical inquiry? How does the close interplay of myth and geography help Herodotus expound his take on myth and delineate his genre vis-à-vis his geographical and poetic predecessors? To explore these questions I will be specifically looking at the Libyan *logos* at the end of book 4 of the *Histories*, which includes one of the most extensive ethnographical and geographical accounts in the work. Mythical elements are embedded not only in the Libyan geography (4.168–99) but also in the surrounding narrative of the early history of Cyrene (4.145–67, 200–5).

¹ On the organic connection between myth and history in Herodotus see most recently the essays in Baragwanath/de Bakker 2012.

2 Libya

In his account of the tribes that occupy large parts of the continent of Libya (from the borders of Egypt in the East to the Pillars of Heracles in the West), Herodotus names the peoples and describes the areas they inhabit. He gives information about the population, borders, geographical landmarks, rivers, hills and mountains, animals and vegetation. He catalogues local traditions as well as unique and peculiar customs, religious and other. His geographical and ethnographical interests he shares with Hecataeus, early geographers and Presocratic philosophers. Several characteristics of the narrative, such as the frequent use of the middle verb ἔχομαι ('to be next to') to indicate neighbouring people, recall Hecataeus' terminology.² The way in which Herodotus' description moves from the coastal region to the inland is reminiscent not only of Hecataeus' practice in his *Periodos* but also of *periplous* narratives.³ Then there is the mythological material integrated in the geographical account, a significant and distinct characteristic of early geographical writers and especially Hecataeus:⁴ the bay of Menelaus, the Lotus-eaters, the river Triton and the Lake Tritonis, Jason and the Argonauts, Mount Atlas, Poseidon and Athena.

Yet Herodotus differs from his predecessors in that his own casting of geography is firmly based on contemporary intellectual developments.⁵ The im-

2 See Hdt. 4.169.1 (τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλγιάμαι), 170, 171, 172.1. Cf. Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F207: ἔθνος Βεχεῖρων ἐγγύς. Ἐκαταῖος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ· ἔς μὲν τοῦτο ἡ Βεχεϊρική, ἔχονται δ' αὐτῶν Χοί. καὶ πάλιν· ἄχρι μὲν τούτων Χοί. καὶ πάλιν· Χοῖσι δ' ὁμωρεούσι πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίζηρες'. On the affinities between Herodotus' geographical style, Hecataeus and the geographical tradition, see briefly Rood 2006, 295; 2012, 127–31.

3 Descriptions, that is, of peoples and places a sailor would come across in a voyage along a coast. Cf. Herodotus' mention of Scylax's journey in 4.44. On *periplous* texts, see Janni 1984; Diller 1952, 102–46; Dilke 1985, 130–44; Blomqvist 1979; Shipley 2011.

4 Early geographical writers other than Hecataeus include e.g. Scylax, Dionysius of Miletus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Charon of Lampsacus, Xanthus of Lydia, Hanno of Carthage. On Herodotus and early prose writers, see Fowler 1996; 2006 (pp. 39–41 provide a full list of Herodotus' prose predecessors and contemporaries and their works); Thomas 2000; Romm 2006.

5 On the reciprocal relationship between Herodotus and contemporary scientists, philosophers and sophists, see Thomas 2000; 2006. On Herodotus' Libyan ethnography in particular, see Thomas 2000, 28–74. Note that in Hecataeus' fragments we also find information on Libya (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F329–57) but Herodotus' account does not seem to be much influenced by Hecataeus' material (see Thomas 2000, 53 n. 53; cf. Fowler 2006, 34: 'it is notable that Herodotus' account of Libya shows little contact with the surviving fragments of Hecataeus, suggesting an alternative source').

portance of autopsy and experience, both of which occupy a central place in contemporary scientific discourse, is evident throughout the *Histories*. Herodotean ethnography reflects ideas and interests expressed in contemporary medical works (the Hippocratic corpus in particular) and natural philosophy.

The Libyan ethnography under scrutiny here is filled with authorial interventions whereby Herodotus illuminates his cautious and critical method. The historian only records material about which he is relatively well informed or has managed to collect some knowledge. So he writes, for example: ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι (I have given the fullest possible information that my enquiries could attain, 4.192.3).⁶ He further expresses uncertainty and warns us about his inability to confirm some of the information he reports: οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν 'I cannot say for sure' (4.187.2). And when he has no knowledge at all he does not hesitate to say so. He thus openly states that he is in a position to list the names of all the Libyan tribes who dwell on the ridge up to the Atlantes, but he is not able to name the peoples living further than that: μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὄφρῳ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι (4.185.1).

Herodotus is moreover careful to attribute information to his sources to clarify that he carries no responsibility for the content of a claim and is merely responsible for recording what he heard.⁷ When he talks about the wildlife of Libya and some strange human beings that sound nearly mythical (huge snakes, horned asses, dog-headed men, headless men with eyes in their breasts) Herodotus makes sure to distance himself, adding that this piece of information comes from his Libyan sources: ὥς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων (4.191.4). His own experience of the world plays a vital part too: comparing a current Carthaginian story to an event he himself experienced elsewhere in Greece, Herodotus concludes that the Carthaginian story may well be true:

It is said that there is a lake on this island from which the maidens of the country draw gold-dust out of the mud on feathers smeared with pitch. I do not know whether this is true; I just write what is said. It may, however, be true enough, since I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus (εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρων) ... Whatever falls into the pool is carried under the ground and appears again in the sea, which is about a half a mile distant from

⁶ Cf. Hdt. 4.184.1: οἱ ἀνώνυμοί εἰσι μούνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν (the only people in the world, so far as our knowledge goes, to do without names), 4.197.1: οὗτοι μὲν εἰσι τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι (these are all the Libyans whom we can name).

⁷ See e.g. Hdt. 4.187.3: λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες (I repeat in all this what is said by the Libyans). Cf. 4.195.1–2, 196.1.

the pool. So, then, the story that comes from the island lying off the Libyan coast may quite possibly be true (οὕτω ὦν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθεῖη).

Herodotus 4.195.2–4

Even the way Herodotus expresses his own judgement seems to be informed by scientific speculation and inquiry.⁸ Similarly, his ethnographical interest in Libya reflects contemporary scientific preoccupation evidenced in the Hippocratic corpus.⁹ And when he talks about the Libyan cure that uses vein cauterisation to prevent children being affected by the downflow of phlegm from the head (4.187.2–3), he seems to be entering into a controversy over an issue which was very popular with the Hippocratics.¹⁰

Such a balanced and reasoned approach is markedly different from that of Herodotus' prose predecessors and the historian does not shy away from criticising earlier writers of geography and ethnography. On the contrary, he often scolds and censures geographers, cartographers, ethnographers, mythographers and poets. His critique principally lies in the lack of empirical research and scientific inquiry: for Herodotus a fact must be confirmed by sight (*opsis*) or hearsay (*akoē*), the two core elements of his historical method and his new genre. Examples of more or less straightforward polemic are scattered throughout the narrative of the *Histories*. Herodotus, thus, rejects Ionian views on the geography of Egypt and Greek views on the sources of the Nile and provides evidence based on observation and oral report to back up his own opinion (2.15–34). He also dismisses the theory about the existence of a river called Ocean which surrounds the whole world as he does not know of any such river and therefore thinks the name was invented by Homer or some other earlier poet (2.21, 23; cf. 4.8.2). He even

⁸ See e.g. Hdt. 4.180.4: 'How they dressed these girls before there were Greeks settled in the neighbourhood, I cannot say (οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν), but I suppose (δοκέω δ' ὦν) the armour they used was Egyptian; for I maintain (φημί) that both shields and helmets were introduced into Greece from Egypt', 4.189.3: 'I think too (δοκέει δ' ἔμοιγε) that the crying of women at religious ceremonies also originated in Libya – for the Libyan women are much addicted to this practice, and they do it very beautifully'.

⁹ On the Hippocratics' interest in the health of the Libyans in general, see e.g. *Prognostics* 25; *Airs, Waters, Places* 12. It is also worth noting that Herodotus' brief juxtaposition of Libya with Asia and Europe in terms of their fertility ('I do not think Libya can be compared for the fertility of its soil with either Asia or Europe, with the single exception of the region called Cinyps', 4.198.1) is not uncommon in medical writings.

¹⁰ See e.g. *Airs, Waters, Places* 3.

laughs at the cartographers who design the Ocean running around a perfectly circular earth and make Asia and Europe the same size (4.36.2).¹¹

Into this scientifically framed narrative of Libyan ethnography and geography Herodotus draws mythical material: brief mythical snapshots which allude to epic and epinician poetry as well as to *nostoi* traditions, names of locations, landmarks and peoples with mythic resonances. On the mainland and opposite the island of Platea, just off the Libyan coast, there is the harbour of Menelaus (4.169), which recalls the legend of the hero's trip to Libya as recorded for example by Menelaus himself in the *Odyssey* (4.76–85). This does not seem to be a fortuitous reference because Herodotus has already talked about Menelaus' visit to Egypt in book 2 in the Helen logos (2.112–20), narrating how he behaved unjustly towards the Egyptians and fled with his ships to Libya, hated and pursued (2.119.2–3). The mention of the harbour here might in fact reinforce the historicity of Menelaus' presence in the region, and consequently the truth of the story the Egyptian priests heard from Menelaus himself and told Herodotus.¹² Even though Herodotus historicises Menelaus, the latter still retains his heroic and mythical associations, and is a figure who played a very important role in the Greek colonisation of Libya.¹³

The interaction with the *nostoi* traditions continues with the mention of the river Cinyps (4.175), the furthest point Menelaus was said to have reached in his adventures in North Africa. The Cinyps is a significant landmark and narrative marker which points forward to book 5. In 5.42.3 we learn that the Cinyps is the place where the Spartan Dorieus – a descendant of Heracles, who was an Argonaut, and half-brother of the Spartan king Cleomenes – established much later a short-lived colony.¹⁴ In the narrative of the *Histories* the harbour of Menelaus and the river Cinyps are much more than casual items in a typical *periplous* list: they justify Dorieus' presence in Libya and increase the relevance of his enterprise which is presented as a Spartan *nostos*, that is, the return of the Spartans to the place where their heroic ancestor Menelaus had once been. A brief note on the

11 On Herodotus' criticism of old geography on the Ocean, see Romm 1992, 32–41. Cf. e.g. Herodotus denying the existence of the river Eridanus and the Tin Islands (3.115); his treatment of Aristagoras and his map in Book 5 (see most recently Purves 2010, 118–58).

12 On the ways Herodotus corroborates the historical reliability of his version of the Helen story, see de Jong 2012; cf. Saïd 2012, 91–2.

13 See Malkin 1994, 48–57.

14 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Κίνυπα οἰκίσε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν. ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε [καὶ] Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπῆκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. On Dorieus' Libyan colonisation, see Malkin 1994, 192–203.

island of Phla (located in the lake Tritonis) a couple of chapters later may be associated with Dorieus' deed¹⁵ and thus reinforce the significance of Spartan colonisation in this area: an oracle told the Spartans to settle on this island (4.178).

Then we hear of the Libyan tribe of the Lotus-eaters, the Lotophagi, who eat only the fruit of the lotus plant, known from Homer (4.177). If How and Wells are correct in arguing that the descriptive term 'Lotophagi' has here replaced the tribal name,¹⁶ this might indicate deliberate authorial intention to create Homeric links in the mind of the reader. The Homeric intertext may indeed be particularly meaningful here: Odysseus reached the land of the Lotophagi when a northerly wind blew him off course while he was rounding Cape Malea. The mythical context has a double effect: Herodotus strengthens the links with the *nostoi* traditions and cleverly plants the seed for his account of another heroic group of travellers who were blown off course while rounding the same cape, the Argonauts.

The mythical lore of the narrative continues in the next paragraph in which Herodotus mentions that the tribe living next to the Lotophagi, the Machlyes, also makes use of the lotus (4.178). Their land extends to the large river Triton, which flows into the great lake Tritonis. These two landmarks give Herodotus the chance to relate a story about the Argonauts – and this is the only case where the historian elaborates on mythical material in the Libyan ethnography. According to the tale (4.179.1: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος), when Jason was sailing around the Peloponnese (περιπλέειν) going to Delphi and carrying on his ship (the Argo) a hecatomb and a tripod, at Cape Malea a north wind carried him off to Libya. There he found himself in the shallows of the Lake Tritonis and was unable to escape. Triton then appeared and offered him help in exchange for the tripod. Triton put the tripod in his sanctuary and predicted over it that when a descendant of the crew of the Argo carried off the tripod, a hundred Greek cities would be founded around the lake Tritonis. When the local Libyans heard about this prophecy, they hid the tripod (4.179).

This tale lacks some of the usual mythical dimensions, with the Argonauts depicted as normal travellers – and so does another Argonautic story, that of their trip to Colchis briefly mentioned in the proem of the *Histories*. Triton (the son of Poseidon, often depicted in mythology and iconography as half-man, half-fish) is presented more as a seer than a god. But mythical and supernatural elements can still be detected in the narrative. We encounter the familiar *nostos* motif of the storm at Cape Malea which carries the ships off to the open sea and to the

¹⁵ Cf. Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 701.

¹⁶ See How/Wells 1928, 359.

coasts of Libya (e.g., *Od.* 3.286–300; 9.80 ff.).¹⁷ The aid, moreover, Triton offers the Argonauts associates him with other mythical wise men of the sea, such as the Homeric Proteus, who possess mantic power and point heroes to the right direction. And Herodotus says later that Triton is held to be a god by the people living around the lake Tritonis, listed alongside Athena and Poseidon (4.188).

In the next chapter we are presented with a personified lake Tritonis, who, according to a story told by the locals (φασί), was the mother of the goddess Athena (4.180.5). Another topographical detail with mythical background is Mount Atlas: it is said (λέγεται) that the mountain is so tall it reaches the clouds, and therefore its top cannot be seen. The local inhabitants, called Atlantes after the mountain, say (λέγουσι) it is a pillar that supports the sky (4.184.3–4). The local belief seems to be influenced by the myth of the giant Atlas who, in Homer (*Od.* 1.52–4) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 517–19), is said to hold the sky on his shoulders. The mythical landscape drawn here is further enriched by the mention of the city of the Euesperides (4.171), associated with the myth of the Golden Apples of the Hesperides whom Hesiod locates near Atlas (*Theog.* 518). Both Atlas and the Hesperides call to mind the labours of Heracles, mythical ancestor of the Spartan kings and himself an Argonaut. Finally, there is the tribe of the Maxyes, who claim (φασί) to be descendants of the Trojans (4.191.1).

All these links help Herodotus weave a rich tapestry of Greek myths. They recall the returns of the Greek heroes from the Trojan War, the *Odyssey* and the adventures of the Argonauts. Together they represent a mythical landscape that comes into life as the narrative describes the contemporary Libyan landscape. Given that Herodotus often rationalises myth or cautiously attributes it to his sources, his treatment of myth in the Libyan geography is very much in line with his attitude towards myth in the rest of the *Histories*. Nor does myth sit uncomfortably within the context of a scientifically focused geography. Mythical resonances create a bridge between the past and the present, a kind of continuity established by means of the space the people are living in. Myth justifies realities and carries authority, and these topographical names help bestow authority. Mythical references are few and subtle but are packed with meaning and significance. Structuring the Libyan geography in a cautious and empirical manner, transforming myth into landmarks, and reporting stories occasioned by the mention of a specific location, are all part of Herodotus' response to the use of myth by his predecessors and contemporaries. The outline of a *periplous* facilitates the audience's approach to the *Histories* since that was a familiar and recognisable pattern, and it enables Herodotus to demonstrate more clearly the different genre

17 See Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 702.

he is crafting. Concomitantly, known and identifiable mythical references help Herodotus bring closer and make more tangible the exotic and fascinating new world that was Libya.¹⁸

3 Cyrene

This nesting of mythical references within the Libyan geography is closely intertwined with the employment of mythical motifs in the colonisation of Cyrene (4.145–158) and its early (4.159–67) as well as subsequent (4.200–5) history.¹⁹ Herodotus relates the colonisation of Thera by Sparta; two versions (a Thera and a Cyrenean) of the colonisation of Cyrene by Thera; and the history of the royal dynasty established by the founder of Cyrene, Battus, until the time of Arcesilaus III, whose mother Pheretima provoked the Persian expedition against Libya.

First, the colonisation of Thera: Thera was colonised by Spartans and Minyans, led by the Spartan Theras. The Minyans were the descendants of the Argonauts who had been removed from Lemnos, came to Sparta to settle in the land of their fathers, and were kindly received by the Spartans because the Tyndaridae had sailed on the Argo. The Argonautic tradition resurfaces in the colonisation of Cyrene. According to the Thera version (4.150–3), Grinnus, descendant of Theras and king of Thera, went to Delphi to offer a sacrifice of a hundred victims. He was accompanied by some citizens, among whom was Battus, son of Polymnestus, the descendant of a Minyan called Euphemus. Theras was instructed by the oracle to found a city in Libya but being too old he entrusted Battus with this task. The Therans, however, forgot about the oracle and remained inactive for seven years, during which time there was a horrible drought in the island. Thereupon they sent again to Delphi and were reminded of the colony they must found in Libya. As they did not know where Libya was, they dispatched men to Crete to conduct an enquiry. These men came across a purple-fisher called Corobius, who had once been driven off course by winds and had ended up on the Libyan island

18 Cf. Malkin 1994, 49: ‘Libya was a new and alien world – attributes which Herodotus in his foundation story of Cyrene (iv 150–8) does his best to express. Reluctance to approach Libya – in fact, complete ignorance of it – characterizes both Thera and Cyrenaian versions of the foundation. It is against this background that Menelaos seems to have been perceived as a hero who had opened up and forged a link with the land’.

19 For a detailed account of the Greek colonisation of Cyrene, which takes a cautious approach to the sources, see Austin 2008. On Herodotus’ handling of different traditions in the colonisation of Cyrene, see Giangiulio 2001; Malkin 2003; Thomas in this volume, pp. 270–276.

of Platea. He showed them the way and they finally found a settlement there. Two years later they settled on the mainland at Aziris (4.157–8), which in the Libyan geography is located close to the harbour of Menelaus (4.169).

Several features of this story point forward to mythical references and the Argonaut tale we find in the Libyan geography. The trip of Grinnus (4.150) anticipates Jason's trip to Delphi with his hecatomb. Corobius, who helps the Therans to find Libya and found a settlement on the island of Platea (4.151.2–3), features as the equivalent of the wise man of the sea and is thus linked to the mythical Proteus as well as looking forward to Triton who helps Jason. Moreover the motif of Corobius being blown off course by winds recalls the *nostoi*.

Further side stories flesh out the narrative of Cyrene. The Cyrenean version of Cyrene's colonisation (4.154–6) agrees with the Theran tale concerning the colonisation first of Platea and then of Aziris (4.156.3, 157–8), but gives an alternative account of the story of Battus. The account incorporates storytelling elements and legendary material, common in the stories of great leaders or colonial founders.²⁰ In the Cyrenean story of Battus, the founder of Cyrene, such elements include the bad step-mother who convinces the father that his daughter has committed a crime; the father who wants to kill his daughter; the pity of the person assigned to kill her and her salvation; and the daughter's illegitimate and stammering child, Battus.²¹

The mythical and *nostoi* motifs as well as the connections with the Argonauts through kinship bonds and locations in the colonisation of Cyrene are buttressed by the mythological elements in the geography of Libya. The geography of Libya helps Herodotus to firmly embed the colonisation of Cyrene and Battus' journey in the mythical heroic past. Herodotus introduces another mythological hint and at the same time establishes an additional link between the Argonauts and Cyrene when he mentions that, in his search for Europa, Cadmus put in at Thera and left a number of Phoenicians behind (4.147.4). This detail points back to Herodotus' proem where he narrates the mythical kidnapping of women, and in particular the abduction of Europa and the subsequent abduction of Medea by the Argonauts.

²⁰ Cf. e.g. the stories of Moses, Perseus, Romulus and Remus, and Sargon of Akkad (see Hornblower 1987, 17; Murray 1993², 147–9), as well as the stories of Cypselus, Cyrus and Periander in Herodotus (Gray 1996, 367–77).

²¹ On the fabulous elements in Battus' story, cf. also briefly Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 680–2.

Herodotus keeps playing on mythical and storytelling motifs in the history of Cyrene (4.159–67, 200–5). The events he narrates are briefly as follows. The population of Cyrene increased in the reign of the third king, Battus the Prosperous, as Greek colonists were encouraged to move to Cyrene by the Delphic oracle. When Battus was succeeded by his son Arcesilaus, there was a conflict between him and his brothers, who left Cyrene, founded the city of Barca elsewhere in Libya and convinced the Libyans to rebel against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus was defeated and strangled by his brother Learchus who was in turn murdered by Arcesilaus' wife Eryxo. Arcesilaus was succeeded by his son, Battus the Lane. In view of the disaster they suffered the Cyreneans sent to Delphi for guidance, the result of which was a series of measures to increase popular power and reduce the king's prerogatives. When Arcesilaus III succeeded Battus the Lane, he demanded back the ancestral prerogatives, stirred up civil strife, was defeated and fled to Samos, while his mother, Pheretima, fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Arcesilaus gathered an army in Samos and sent to Delphi before he set off to return to Cyrene. The oracle advised him to keep quiet when he returned, or else he would die, but as soon as he reassumed control of Cyrene, he forgot about the oracle and focussed on avenging his opponents. Realising he had violated the oracle he went to Barca to stay with his father-in-law, the king of Barca, and he was there killed by some Barcaeans and Cyrenean exiles. When the news of his death reached his mother, who in the meantime was ruling Cyrene, she asked for the help of Aryandes, the governor of Egypt, to avenge her son's murder – she claimed Arcesilaus was killed because he was an ally of the Persians. Aryandes put his army and navy at Pheretima's disposal, in reality hoping – as Herodotus thinks (4.167.3) – to subjugate Libya. After a nine-month siege, the Persians conquered the city and gave to Pheretima the Barcaeans most responsible for her son's death; she impaled them on stakes all around the city wall, cut off their wives' breasts and impaled these on stakes around the wall too. The Persians turned the rest of Barcaeans into slaves and went back to Egypt. Pheretima was punished by the gods for her excessive revenge: while she was still alive her body seethed with worms.

This history of Cyrene features a range of themes that recur in several Herodotean stories and subplots and occupy a key place in the narrative of the *Histories*: neglect of oracles, divine displeasure and punishment, arrogance, retribution, family intrigues and murders, quarrel between brothers over royal power, imperialism and expansion. As such it nicely complements the mythical and *nostoi* patterns in the colonisation of Cyrene. And both the colonisation and history

of Cyrene tie in harmoniously with the Libyan ethno-geography, in which the scientific/empirical element blends with the archaic/mythic/epic.²²

Herodotus' Libyan ethnography often verges on paradoxography and the historian clearly bases himself on the tradition of Homer and especially the *Odyssey*. But the persona of a reliable and independent researcher engaged in contemporary discussions also emerges.²³ Herodotus' description of Libya – his very own version of a *periplous* – goes beyond the traditional form. His *periplous* is not merely descriptive but is much more useful because it is supplemented by his own enquiry and personal experience, and in this sense in turn supplements other *periploi*. Moreover, the linear progression of the geographical description of a *periplous* is overturned at the level of the narrative with all mythical elements looking forward and backward to the story of Cyrene. Myth is an important and inseparable part of Herodotus' historical process but not a goal in itself. That Herodotus labels Jason's voyage around the Peloponnese a *periplous* (4.179.1: περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον) could be an indirect reference to the *periploi* of his predecessors and a way to attract readers' attention to what he is actually doing here and how his approach differs from at the same time as it complements the approach of authors of other *periploi*. Herodotus, then, takes a critical stance towards his predecessors in his description of the Libyan landscape, and points sceptically towards the Argonautic tradition and the literature of the *nostoi*.

Likewise, Herodotus' account of the colonisation of Cyrene notably diverges from the earliest extant accounts we find in Pindar's *Pythians* 4, 5 and 9,²⁴ but clearly does not lack mythical material. The difference is that this material is moulded in a unique way to suit the new genre Herodotus is writing in and his distinct authorial purposes.²⁵

In *Pythian* 9,²⁶ Pindar sings of the love of Apollo for the Thessalian princess (or nymph) Cyrene, whom he took with him to Libya. Their union is presented as the foundation myth of the city of Cyrene. In *Pythian* 4²⁷ Pindar relates the story

²² Cf. Lloyd 1990.

²³ See e.g. Romm 1989 on how Herodotus in his geography often merges the old mythical with the new empirical element (Romm uses the Hyperboreans as his case study).

²⁴ On Pindar grappling with variant traditions in his colonial narratives of Cyrene, see Giangulio 2001 (*passim*). For detailed discussions of Pindar's accounts of Cyrene's foundation, see Dougherty 1993, 103–19, 136–56; Calame 1990; 2003, 35–86; cf. also Malkin 1994, 169–85.

²⁵ On Herodotus' distinctive treatment of Cyrene's foundation narrative, see the detailed discussion in Calame 2003, 86–108.

²⁶ Written for the Cyrenean Telesicrates, victor in the hoplite race in 474 B.C.

²⁷ Written for the chariot victory of Arcesilaus IV, king of Cyrene, in 462 B.C.

of Jason and the Golden Fleece, focusing on the Argonaut Euphemus, the ancestor of Battus. According to Pindar, the Argonauts went to North Africa and when they came to the Lake Tritonis, Eurypylus, the son of Poseidon, gave Euphemus a clod of earth as a gift. But Euphemus did not take good care of the gift and, as they were passing Thera, the clod was washed into the sea and then Medea broke into a prophecy: if Euphemus had brought the clod back home to Taenarus his descendants in the fourth generation would have settled Libya; but now Libya would be founded later from Thera by his descendant Battus, who would receive an oracle predicting he would be called king of Cyrene when he came to Delphi seeking a cure for his stammer. In *Pythian* 5,²⁸ Pindar concentrates on the figure of Battus, the founder of Cyrene, who is associated with the Homeric heroes and Apollo.

Herodotus diverges from Pindar while still retaining central elements of his account. We observe a strong link between Cyrene, Delphi and the will of Apollo in both Herodotus and Pindar. Battus, the founder, is cast as the agent of Apollo especially in Pindar but in Herodotus too, who also has the subsequent kings of Cyrene repeatedly consult his oracle at Delphi (4.161.1, 163.1). The Argonautic origins of Battus receive special emphasis in Pindar. Herodotus not only mentions Battus' Argonautic lineage but, as we have seen, further strengthens his affinity with the Argonauts through the employment of mythical motifs, stories and toponyms in the early history of Cyrene and Libya's geography. Battus' heroic status is also bolstered in his Cyrenean biography which resembles folk-tales of great leaders. Pindar's three odes underline the connection between Sparta, Thera and Cyrene, as well as the bond between the victors, the founder Battus, the age of heroes and Apollo. The tie between past and present in Herodotus is rather more elaborate: direct kinship links are fleshed out by the use of legendary patterns (winds blowing ships off course, wise men of the sea, mythical colonisations and abductions of women) in the early history of Cyrene and through mythic elements in the Libyan ethnography. Herodotus does rationalise myth in Cyrene's colonisation stories and this practice is taken further in the ethnography of Libya. Yet more or less subtle narrative nudges and common storytelling motifs help embed Battus' colonisation of Libya within a mythical context which highlights continuity and is authorised by the mythical past as readers are invited to unpack the significance attached to names of locations and peoples. Backward and forward links stress the continuity between past and present while physical landmarks firmly embed the present in a mythological landscape. We notice, moreover, Herodotus' critical approach to the past in action once again as he pits competing

28 Also written for the chariot victory of Arcesilaus IV, king of Cyrene, in 462 B.C.

versions of the foundation of Cyrene (the Theran and the Cyrenean) against each other. The two rival tales of Cyrene's colonisation bring out the manipulation and adaptation of the distant past: the Therans emphasize the role of the Theran king and Battus' Theran and Argonautic lineage; the Cyreneans stress Battus' combined Theran and Cretan ancestry and his leading role in the colonisation of Libya, since they say that Battus himself was instructed by the Delphic oracle to establish a settlement there (4.155.2–3).

The heroic journeys of the Argonauts and the returns of the Trojan War heroes were of paramount geographical importance and served as Panhellenic myths which justified colonisation and expansion, defined Greek identity, and mediated encounters between Greeks and barbarians while also marking out differences between them. All these aspects are in perfect keeping with Herodotus' subject matter. And despite the demythologisation of Menelaus' story in the *Histories*, the mention of the port named after him, the place where the Therans first disembarked in Libya, enables Herodotus to heroise Battus. It also allows him to present Battus' journey as a re-play of the journey of Menelaus, a hero whose city, Sparta, was involved in the colonisation of the territory he had once visited. Very much like Dorieus' journey, that of Battus to Libya is in a sense a *nostos*, a return to the place where Menelaus established a precedent of Greek presence.

4 Conclusion

Herodotus' narrative alludes to Pindar and Homer; and the Argonautic tradition has a prominent place in it too, as do traditions of *nostoi*. The historian makes clear from the start of his work that the travel pattern of Homer's *Odyssey* holds a key place in his historical inquiry,²⁹ and he even frames the stories of the abductions of women that ignited the hostility between East and West as some kind of a *periplous*.³⁰ More importantly, the geographical subject matter is common to both the *Odyssey* and the *Histories*. Geography and the study of different peoples and cultures are integral to the narrative of the *Histories* and to understanding why things happen and the way the events unfold. Myth looms large because, whatever else it does, it provides strong connections to the landscape and facilitates readers' navigation through the geographical and historical narrative. The way myth is embedded in geographical descriptions, and in the description of

²⁹ Compare e.g. Hdt. 1.5.3 with *Od.* 1.1–3.

³⁰ Cf. Purves 2010, 126–7.

Libya in particular, yields insight into Herodotus' attitude towards past and contemporary literature. Herodotus rationalises myth, links history and geography, and introduces an empirical mode of geographical inquiry. He thus defines his distinct genre, which goes beyond while also adding to existing genres, and sharpens his criticism towards earlier geographical narratives.

The interlacing of varying oral traditions, folkloric, legendary and historical elements, and a critical approach to the sources and to physical and cultural phenomena in the Libyan *logos*, represent in miniature the world and method of Herodotus: he is a continuator of the epic and past tradition but also an independent researcher and a critical investigator of the past and of geographical phenomena. The historian maps out his new and different method in his last extensive ethnographical *logos*, the one that describes the first hostile encounter between Greeks and Persians. The Libyan *logos*, thus, anticipates the Persian Wars and foreshadows the use and abuse of mythology as well as the prominent interaction between myth and geography in the expedition of Xerxes.³¹

³¹ See e.g. Bowie 2012, 271–8.

Reinhold Bichler

Herodotus the geographer

1 Preface¹

‘Herodotus was more of an historian than a geographer. His world was not a mere chart of coast-lines and land-marks, but a vast picture crowded with living men’.² The quotation with which I open the following considerations has been taken from a work written 150 years ago.³ Yet its author, J. Talboys Wheeler, was himself already building upon a respectable scholarly tradition which he had to take into account. His objective was to present systematically, in about 700 pages, the rich data on the geographical aspects of the *Histories*. The statement quoted above makes one thing clear *a priori*: the restriction of Herodotus’ work to certain aspects conceptualised by the term ‘geography’ is bound to curtail its complex character. A brief appreciation of Herodotus as geographer, conceived here as no more than a sketch, is subject to even further restriction and can be given only on a very selective basis.

In what follows, I would like to draw attention to several aspects of the *Histories* which are relatively closely related to the basic meaning of the word ‘geography’. The well-known passage from the *Histories* in which Herodotus explicitly deals with *geography* may therefore serve as a starting point.

2 Continents

And it makes me laugh when I see so many people nowadays drawing maps of the earth and not one of them giving an intelligent representation of it. They draw Ocean flowing around the whole earth, portray the earth to be more circular than if it were drawn with a

1 I would like, first of all, to thank the organisers of the planned, but unfortunately unrealised, conference in Delphi for their kind invitation. The main body of my paper retains the form of the originally intended paper. Thanks also to Franz Pramhaas for the translation into English. The translated passages from Herodotus’ work are based on *The Landmark-Herodotus* (translation by A. L. Purvis) adapted. The argumentation of parts of this chapter may overlap with that of other papers I have written, esp. Bichler 2007 and Bichler 2016.

2 Wheeler 1854, preface xii.

3 Cf. esp. Rennell 1830; cf. also Forbiger ²1877 (‘1842), 68–92, who gives references to geographically relevant passages that are as inclusive as possible.

compass, and make Asia the same size of Europe. I, however, will show by a brief description the actual size of each, and what they should look like and how they should be drawn.

γελῶ δὲ ὁρῶν γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἐχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον. οἱ Ωκεανὸν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν, ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεῦνται ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἷα τίς ἐστί ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

Herodotus 4.36.2

Herodotus' criticism is levelled at the graphic visual representation of a conception according to which the earth is thought to be surrounded by Oceanus as by a circle and Asia is represented equal in size to Europe (4.36.2).⁴ In contrast to this Herodotus developed his own conception of oceans and continents, always bearing in mind that the knowledge available to him was limited. No precise statements can be made about the extreme north of Europe (4.16); not least because of its heavy snowfall, Herodotus considers this region inaccessible (4.31; 5.9.1; 10). So it is also unknown to what extent Europe is surrounded by water (3.115; 4.45.1). Furthermore, it remains unclear how far the landmass spreads east of the Caspian Sea and extends to the east of India (1.204.1; 3.98.2; 4.40.2). Herodotus therefore discards the conception of the Oceanus which is based on an older, cosmologically grounded worldview (cf. 2.21; 23; 4.8.2; 36.2).⁵

Herodotus knows that the earth is only partly inhabited by human beings (cf. 2.32.5; 34.1; 3.107.1; 114; 4.110.2 and many other places). Since it basically forms one single landmass (μὴ ἐούση γῆ), the distinction of three continents and their definition can also be questioned (4.45.2). In support of this argument Herodotus first presents his theory about the creation of Egypt, referring to the authority of the priests but also offering his own observations and reflections. The country is a gift of the river Nile. The lower Nile valley was originally a gulf of the Mediterranean Sea but, as a result of the annual inundations, over a period of more than 10.000 years it was filled up by silt deposits to form fertile land. Egypt and its population owe their unity to the river Nile. Accordingly it must not be regarded as a dividing line between two continents, namely Libya and Asia (2.5; 10–12; 15–17). In fact, Libya and Egypt are connected with Asia by a narrow strip of land. It would therefore make sense to subsume Libya, including Egypt, under the one

⁴ On this much-discussed passage cf. A. Corcella in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 608–609. Whether or not Hecataeus also attached a map to his περιήγησις is not reliably attested: cf. Dorati 1999/2000.

⁵ Gehrke 1998; Gehrke 2007; Bichler 2016.

geographical term 'Asia' (4.36–45).⁶ As a corollary Herodotus also broadens the reference of the geographical term 'Europe' to include the *total* landmass that extends to the north of Asia. As to its length and width, he considers this 'Europe' significantly larger than 'Asia' (4.42.1; 45.1).⁷

Herodotus' conception of the dimensions of Europe and Asia also expanded the traditional notion of the border between the two continents. From a Hellenocentric perspective the Aegean initially served as a starting point for the conceptualisation of space.⁸ Increasing navigation of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea led to the emergence of a fixed mental orientation line along the waterways. It corresponded roughly to an imaginary line running from sunset to sunrise. Seen from west to east, it ran from the Pillars of Heracles along the Mediterranean to the Hellespont, from there across the Propontis and the Bosphorus into the Black Sea as far as the mouth of the river Phasis (now Rioni). Herodotus built on this conception, which is already visible in Hecataeus, but modified it in essential respects.⁹ In his mental map the extension of the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea is also marked by the course of the Ister (Danube). The river flows – as we will also see below – from the land of the Celts, outside the Pillars of Heracles, in an easterly direction until it finally enters the Black Sea (2.33.3; 4.49.3). Tales of legendary seafarers give further hints. The ship of Colaeus of Samos is said to have been driven from the island of Platea, off the Libyan coast, to the regions outside the Pillars, by a wind blowing continuously from the East (ἀπὸ πηλῶν ἀνέμῳ, 4.152.2). And the Phocaeans, pioneers of navigation, had once sailed as far as the Adriatic, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessus (1.163.1), which indicates a catalogue of places they could put in running from East to West.

The imaginary boundary between the northern and southern half of the earth as seen by Herodotus then continues beyond the Phasis in an easterly direction.

6 On the land bridge from Syria/Palestine to Egypt cf. 2.116.6; 3.5; 7.89.2. Where his explicit objective is not the division of the earth into continents and their naming Herodotus uses the terms Egypt, Libya and Asia in the conventional way to refer to geographical entities. If 'Asia' denotes the whole of the Persian dominion conquered by Cyrus (1.95.1; 192), this territory constitutes only part of the continent, whose eastward extension is completely unknown (cf. 4.40.2). The extent of the area called 'Asia' that the Medes sought to conquer and the Scythians ruled over for some time is even more limited (1.102; 106.1).

7 In Herodotus' presentation of the Persian Wars the scope of the term 'Europe' is occasionally still restricted to the region through which, coming from the northeast across Thessaly, *Hellas* can be reached (6.43.4; 7.8β, 10β; cf. also 3.96.1; 7.126).

8 On the maritime perspective of Greek geographical concepts, see in general Prontera 2007–8/2011; Kowalski 2012.

9 Cf. Prontera 2001, esp. 130.

It runs along the southern edge of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, following the river Araxes, which finally ends in marshland (cf. esp. 1.202).¹⁰ So the boundary line which in Herodotus' conception separates Europe from Asia runs consistently from west to east: it divides north and south! In the sensitive conflict zone of the Aegean region, however, it turns and proceeds along a south/north line, thus dividing east and west. But it was only in an ideologically charged process of reception that this boundary became stylised in the interpretative schema of a primordial east-west conflict on a world-historical scale. Herodotus did not think in such categories.¹¹

3 Expeditions

The Caspian Sea is a self-contained body of water; it has no point of contact with that other sea, the one which is navigated by the Hellenes and which, together with the sea located outside the Pillars of Herakles called the Atlantic and the one to the south called the Erythraean, in fact constitute one single united sea.

ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἔστι ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω <Ἡρακλέων> στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία εἶδους τυγχάνει.

Herodotus 1.202.4

While Herodotus notes that it is impossible to know to what extent Europe's external borders are surrounded by the sea, he is convinced that it is possible to navigate from the Indus estuary around Libya (i.e. Africa) into the Mediterranean.

¹⁰ In Herodotus, the river Phasis is occasionally marked as a boundary of geopolitical relevance; cf. 2.103 and 6.84.2. It is of secondary importance to Herodotus that 'others say the boundaries are the Maeotic Tanais river and the Cimmerian Ferries' (οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαίητην καὶ Πορθμῖα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσιν, 4.45.2). On this cf., for instance, West 2012. What is decisive for Herodotus' geographical conception is Europe's easterly extension along the line Phasis – Caspian Sea – Araxes, in which the Caucasus Mountains can also be included. Cf. Sieberer 1995, 25–28; Jacob 1991, 57–58; Romm 2007; and the maps by W. Sieberer in Bichler 2000 and Sieberer 2017. In a fragment from *Prometheus Unbound*, the Phasis forms the boundary between Europe and Asia (fr. 191 Radt *TrGF* II i = Arrian, *Periplus* 19.1). In *Prometheus Bound*, on the other hand, the Maeotis is the boundary between the two continents (729–735). This is also true for *Airs, Waters, Places* 13. A fragment relating to the courses of the Maeotis, Tanais und Araxes, originally ascribed to Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrH* 1 F195), was already attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera by Jacoby himself (*FGrH* vol. Ia, reprint 1957 p.*4; cf. his commentary on *FGrH* 264 fr.13/14 (vol. IIIa, 1943)).

¹¹ Bichler 2014, with further references.

To support his conception, Herodotus comes up with a series of reports on spectacular naval expeditions. Here he repeatedly expresses his reservations, a move to demonstrate his trustworthiness as a reporter. Various expedition stories that were circulating might have been adapted by Herodotus himself so skilfully that when combined they gave the coherent picture he wanted.¹²

Thus Scylax of Caryanda, at the behest of King Darius, opened up the sea route from India to the Arabian Gulf (our Red Sea) (4.44). Whether or not Herodotus used Scylax's report (*FGrH* 709) is not certain. His version of Scylax's voyage leaves questions unanswered.¹³ For instance, Herodotus does not show any good knowledge of the Persian Gulf.¹⁴ He is likely to have known, though, that Darius was proud of having facilitated voyages from Persia to Egypt by completing a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea (cf. 2.158; 4.42).¹⁵ Two other amazing stories, when combined, suggest that Libya (= Africa) could be circumnavigated both from the Mediterranean via the Pillars of Heracles and from the Red Sea. These otherwise unknown narratives tell of the voyage made by the Egyptian king Sesostris and the expedition undertaken by the Persian Sataspes at King Xerxes' command. With striking similarity the two expeditions, after a long voyage, reached a region where shoals forced them to turn back (2.102; 4.43).¹⁶ The series of reports is crowned by the story of the Phoenician fleet which by order of the

¹² For details, see Bichler 2011.

¹³ West 2012.

¹⁴ Cf. already Bolchert 1908, 7: 'Ob die Expedition des Skylax wirklich das südliche Meer von der Mündung des Indus bis zum Arabischen Busen befahren hat, bleibt freilich mehr als fraglich, ist sogar bei der noch später fehlenden Kenntnis des Persischen Meerbusens unwahrscheinlich'. – It does not appear that Herodotus already had knowledge of the Persian Gulf. The islands 'in the Erythrean Sea', mentioned by Herodotus in the catalogues of Darius' tax districts and Xerxes' army (3.93; 7.80), should probably be localised in the Persian Gulf; cf. Briant 2002, 506. This does not mean, however, that Herodotus was aware of its existence. In his 'mental map' the term Erythrean = Red Sea comprehends the entire sea in the south.

¹⁵ The canal is mentioned by King's inscription on the Chalouf Stela (DZc). Cf. Kuhrt 2007, 485–487; Lloyd 2007; see also A. Lloyd in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 358–359.

¹⁶ Prior to Herodotus, the possibility of advancing far southwards, at least along the Atlantic coast, occurred in a lost account by Euthymenes of Massilia. Herodotus was probably familiar with it: cf. Fowler 2006, esp. 34 and 39. To my mind, Herodotus might also have used traditions on which the *Periplus of Hanno* is based. His reference to the Carthaginians – Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες – at the beginning of the story of Sataspes' expedition suggests this (4.43.1). Yet there is doubt here too; cf., for instance, A. Corcella in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 612. To what extent the *Periplus of Hanno* handed down to us can claim authenticity at all is a different question. Here too opinions diverge considerably. On the text's utopian traits, see Bichler 2011, esp. 332–333; cf. also Jacob 1991, 76–84.

Egyptian king Necos set out from the Arabian Gulf, sailed round Libya and returned to the Mediterranean through the Pillars of Heracles (4.42). The question of Herodotus' possible sources for the Phoenician navigators' legendary achievements cannot be answered clearly, and the authenticity of the circumnavigation of Africa remains a matter of dispute.¹⁷ According to Herodotus, the Phoenicians are supposed to have said they had had the sun to their right, that is in the north, when circumnavigating Libya (4.42.4). This does not constitute sufficient proof, for it can be inferred from simple astronomical observations. The phenomenon that at the time of the summer solstice the sun is in the north at midday can already be observed from just south of Aswan. The myth of a first circumnavigation of Africa nevertheless continues to fascinate us.

Using Herodotus' information, it should in principle be possible to sketch in broad strokes the outlines of the one half of the earth that he subsumed under the term 'Asia'. The geographical expansion of Europe, however, from its northwest across the High North to regions far in the east, remains in the dark. So it is not possible to create a coherent map of the earth. But Herodotus supplies a number of reference points which facilitate imagining the dimensions of the two continents on a kind of *mental map* with the help of orientation lines not unlike 'latitudes' and 'longitudes'. Another expedition story provides a key prerequisite for this.

4 Libya and Herodotus' mental map

While the Ister is well known because it flows through inhabited territory, no one can say anything about the sources of the Nile. For the part of Libya through which it flows is uninhabited desert.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν. ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημός ἐστι ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥέει.

Herodotus 2.34.1

Herodotus declares that it is only through a chain of contacts that he heard about the daring adventure of a group of young Libyans. They are said to have crossed forests and deserts and after a long time, in the extreme west of the country, reached a river which flowed towards the east and contained crocodiles. There was a city whose inhabitants were small and black (2.32). Herodotus considers it

17 Cf. A. Corcella in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 611–612.

plausible to assume that this river might well be the upper reaches of the Nile and links this to the supposition that the Nile and the Ister (Danube) have symmetrical courses. That is because the Ister flows from the land of the Celts, outside the Pillars of Heracles (2.33.3),¹⁸ in an easterly direction until it finally enters the Black Sea at a point which is conceived to be on the same longitude as the estuary of the Nile (cf. 2.29–31; 4.48–49). The latter also runs from the far west and then turns north. This bend lies roughly on the same meridian of longitude as the delta and is located as far towards Meroë as Meroë is from Elephantine (2.29; 31). The upper reaches of the Nile and the course of the Ister likewise mark important ‘latitudinal lines’ in Herodotus’ geographical conception. They run parallel to the western section of the imaginary boundary between Asia and Europe. Another such line of orientation is provided by the quite detailed description of a route which, starting from Egyptian Thebes, leads across the Libyan deserts to the extreme west (4.181–185).¹⁹

The imaginary line running between the estuaries of the Nile and the Danube also approximately coincides with the course of the river Halys in Asia Minor. This river connects Armenia and Cilicia and, in Herodotus’ conception, flows from north to south. Herodotus imagines Anatolia to be extremely narrow at this point. He deems it possible to cover the distance from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean coast opposite Cyprus in only five days (1.72). Further east Anatolia is thought to be wider again. This leads us to one more north-south-axis of orientation on Herodotus’ mental map. In his conception the core area of Asia is then formed by a strikingly narrow strip of land which stretches from the river Phasis down to the Southern Sea. It is inhabited by only four nations, Colchians, Saspes, Medes and Persians (4.37).²⁰

Now Herodotus gives distinct outlines to the shape of those parts of Asia which are situated to the west of this strip of land. He compares them with two peninsulas (ἄκται διφάσαι). Seen from this core area, therefore, Asia Minor appears as a peninsula which stretches to the west as far as the Aegean (4.38). A second – southern – peninsula encompasses Persia, Assyria and Arabia, and is bounded in the west by the Arabian Gulf and the Phoenician coast (4.39). The

18 In Herodotus’ mental map, Pyrene, the polis of the Celts, is located beyond the Pillars of Heracles (2.33.3). Gadeira (Cádiz) and Tartessus are also cited as lying beyond the Pillars (4.8.2; 152.2). On Herodotus’ geography of western Europe, see Sieberer 1995, 50–60; cf. now Sieberer 2017, 28–34 and 92–97.

19 See below n. 27.

20 Cf. Prontera 2011, with maps.

aforementioned land bridge connects it to Egypt and Libya, which are therefore also included in the continent of Asia (4.41).

Whereas Herodotus employs an illustrative analogy to clarify the shape of the Asian continent in the west, its extension towards the east remains vague. The list of tax districts which Darius is assumed to have established (3.90–94) and the catalogues of troops which Xerxes led against Hellas (7.61–99) do mention a great number of peoples from the east of the Persian Empire, but their exact localisation involves considerable difficulties.²¹ Herodotus mentions two peoples from the north of the empire outside these catalogues – owing to their military proficiency – namely the Sacae and the Bactrians. And there are also the Indians from the northeast of the empire (8.113; 9.31). Their areas of settlement can possibly be imagined on about the same ‘longitude’ as those of the Issedonians and Massagetae.²² On Herodotus’ mental map these two nations represent the outermost landmark in the east of Europe (1.201).

Herodotus thus provides a whole host of quite diverse references which make it possible to gain at least a partial understanding of the position of the continents and oceans and to establish a rough network of ‘latitudes’ and ‘longitudes’ in his mental map. The variety of methods which he employs to describe individual regions is even richer. This includes the measuring of route distances.²³

5 Distances and catalogues

This is how I arrived at the measurements of the Pontus, the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and they are in reality as I have described them.

21 On the possible identifications of the different peoples listed in the two catalogues with those mentioned in Persian texts, see D. Asheri in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 481–496 and 538–541; Kuhrt 2007, 527–529.

22 Cf. Sieberer 1995, 99–101.

23 In order to facilitate orientation Herodotus applies established procedures which were already to be found among the basic principles of earlier geography. They include descriptions of land roads and sea routes. Their course is illustrated by an imaginary succession of stages (as linear as possible) and a simple indication of the cardinal directions. The description of river courses and coastlines also follows this principle. The highlighting of conspicuous landmarks reinforces mental orientation. The horizontal area of a territory can above all be visualised more easily by comparing it to geometrical shapes. Cf. Janni 1984; Gehrke 2007; Rollinger/Ruffing 2013, esp. 135–138, with further references.

ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέεται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν...

Herodotus 4.86.4

When dealing with measurements Herodotus is very meticulous. It is not that there is no lack of discrepancies within his work. But significantly he grades the accuracy of his data according to the degree of the solid knowledge available. For instance, he provides information on the maritime boundary which separates the two continents, information whose precision diminishes as the distance from the Aegean increases.²⁴ He still supplies exact measurements for the length and width of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, the Propontis and the Black Sea, setting out proudly how he himself calculated the distance from the Hellespont to the Phasis estuary on the basis of the time sailing vessels take (4.85.3–86). In his calculation the distance amounts to a total of 11,110 stadia (4.86.2). The length and width of the Caspian Sea, on the other hand, are only indicated by travel times for boats powered by oars (1.203). Information on Lake Maeotis remains vague and contradictory (1.104.1; 4.3.2; 21; 116).²⁵

In a similar way Herodotus grades the data concerning the routes along the Nile from the coast of Egypt to the land of the Ethiopians and the travel time required (cf. 2.7–9; 29–31). To him, Elephantine marks a boundary up to which there is visually confirmed knowledge. He states that he himself got as far as that; for what lay beyond that he had to rely on hearsay (... μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων, 2.29.1). The further course of the Nile upstream can still be described with some degree of accuracy as far as Meroë. Concerning Nile's upper reaches Herodotus is – as already mentioned – forced to speculate, and the route leading to the long-lived Ethiopians on the Southern Sea remains wholly in the dark (cf. 3.20–25).

Among the land routes mentioned by Herodotus, two are worthy of particular note because of their detailed measurement data. The better known of the two is the 'Royal Road'. The density of details, which Herodotus probably owes to an itinerary, illustrates the great length of the route, which leads from Ephesus via Sardis to Susa.²⁶ The political implication of its description is an issue I'll come back to. Equally remarkable, though different in some respects, is his description of the caravan route already mentioned which, originating in Egypt, cuts across

²⁴ For details, see Bichler 2013a.

²⁵ Cf. Sieberer 1995, 78–79 and map no. 21; cf. now Sieberer 2017, 66–67.

²⁶ Herodotus' description of this Royal Road indeed covers only part of the extensive Achaemenid road network. See also Briant 2000, 357–387, esp. 357–361; cf. also the source documentation in Kuhrt 2007, 733–735.

the south of Libya and runs as far as its extreme west. The description of the individual caravan stops along this route as salt-hills with a spring of water on top makes one think of a kind of map in which oases were marked by corresponding symbols (4.181–185).²⁷

The geography of Scythia poses a particular challenge to Herodotus. He was obviously faced with a heterogeneous tradition which could not simply be harmonised.²⁸ At any rate he describes the spatial dimensions of the country in a series of efforts and through various means. He provides, for instance, a schematic description of the country in the shape of a rhomboid whose length and width are estimated in stadia and in days' journeys (4.101). In addition there is catalogue-like information on the location of rivers and peoples' settlement areas, occasionally specified by numbers about days' journeys and stadia (cf. 4.17–23; 51–57). In order to exemplify the position of that part of the peninsula which is inhabited by the Tauri and takes up the south east of Scythia, he draws comparisons which require knowledge about Attica or Iapygia, the region to the south of Brindisi and Tarentum (4.99).²⁹ He himself comments on this procedure: 'I am of course comparing something small in proportion to something large. But that is what Tauricē is like' (λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα μικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν. τοιοῦτον ἢ Ταυρικὴ ἐστὶ, 4.99.5). The geographical location of Scythia is eventually also elucidated by the catalogues of the peoples neighbouring the Scythians (4.16–27; 102–117). Careful differentiation can be observed here: Herodotus locates the better-known among these peoples in the immediate vicinity of the Scythians.³⁰ Separated from them by barren land, the less-known peoples have their areas of settlement. Still farther away, finally, are said to live those fabulous peoples whose existence Herodotus would no longer vouch for (4.25; 27).³¹

Catalogues of nations have now been addressed several times as an element of Herodotus' geography. It would of course be mistaken to reduce them to this

²⁷ Liverani 2000; Bichler 2013b, esp. 83–84, with map by W. Sieberer.

²⁸ Cf. Sieberer 1995, 73–90 and map no. 21; Engels 2013. Cf. now Sieberer 2017, 64–68.

²⁹ In a similar way, Herodotus compares the route from the Egyptian coast to Heliopolis with the distance from the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus in Pisa (2.7). Cf. Lloyd in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 247.

³⁰ The peoples mentioned above are the Neurians, Melanchlaeni, Sauromatae and Boudini; the Agathyrans are missing in the passage 4.16–27 (cf. 4.48.4; 100). Beyond the wasteland there are the Androphagi, Thyssaetae and Iyrcae, Argippaei and Issedones.

³¹ As to the land to the north of the Argippaei and the Issedones, nobody is able to make precise statements. What those two peoples tell about goat-footed men or the people who sleep for six months at a time remains incredible (4.25); cf. also their stories about the one-eyed Arimaspians and the griffins (4.27).

role; but they do constitute an important element in Herodotus' geography as well. And, not least, they include the two catalogues which illustrate the entire domain of the Persian kings: the list of tax districts which Darius is assumed to have established (3.90–94) and the catalogues of troops which Xerxes led against Hellas (7.61–99). Their primary objective is to demonstrate the enormous financial and military resources which the Great King had at his disposal. To what extent they are ultimately based on Persian sources is uncertain and controversial.³² The description of the tax districts corresponds to Herodotus' geographical and ethnographic perception of the centre and the western half of the Persian Empire. For the eastern regions, it provides a number of more or less unknown names of peoples which possibly display geographical knowledge of the Persians that Herodotus was no longer able to grasp correctly.³³ But at the same time it illustrates the expectation so characteristic of Herodotus' conception, namely that the riches of the countries dominated by the Persians increase the further south and east one gets.³⁴ The troop-catalogue supplies a largely identical body of names of peoples and countries. Once again, it is effective in visualising the expanse and abundance of the space controlled by the Great King. However any attempt to use it as a basis for a coherent geographical concept raises too many open questions.³⁵ Nevertheless both catalogues refer to a cardinal point of Herodotus' geographical interests: their importance is linked to the central theme of the *Histories* and is ancillary to it. And there the prime concern is imperial rule and its costs for the people, be they Hellenes or barbarians.

6 Persian power

Everyone but Hecataeus the author declared their opinions in favour of a revolt; Hecataeus, however, advised them not to take upon themselves a war with the King of Persia and reminded them of Darius' great power, reciting a list of all the peoples under his rule.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι, Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλεῖ τῷ Περσέων ἀναίρεσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἔθνηα πάντα τῶν ἤρχε Δαρεῖος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ.

Herodotus 5.36.2

³² Cf. West 2011, esp. 263–265, with further references.

³³ Dan 2013, esp. 110–115.

³⁴ Ruffing 2009; Ruffing 2011, esp. 86–94.

³⁵ See above n. 21.

The episode in which Hecataeus is acknowledged as a warning voice about the risks involved in the Ionian Revolt is located at a turning point in the narrative structure of the *Histories*.³⁶ That structure's guiding idea is the development of a powerful kingdom in Asia which bit by bit subdues ever more regions until this expansionist tendency is halted by the Greek victories at Salamis and Plataea. On the face of it, the narrative ends there. Its intentional point of reference, however, is somewhere else: the dire turn in Greek politics towards an escalating war for hegemony which was putting its mark on Herodotus' and his audience's present. Within the main lines of the narrative the Asian kings' gradual accrual of power is illustrated by a series of catalogues presenting the subjugated tribes and peoples, thereby also demonstrating their geographical dimension.³⁷ Thus Herodotus lists fourteen peoples on 'this side' of the Halys which were under Croesus' rule at the height of his power (1.28) and six tribes (γένηα) which were united by the Median Deioces (1.101). Then he names a total of ten Persian *ethnē* which Cyrus sought to win over for the fight against the Medes (1.125). This catalogue is presented at the beginning of the acts of conquest which resulted in the establishment of the Persian Empire. The fact that Cambyses, as a consequence of his father's conquests, also had Ionian and Aeolian subjects with him on his Egyptian campaign is actually stated twice by Herodotus (2.1.2; 3.1). The catalogue of Darius' tax districts finally concludes the history of his rise to power and reflects the full extent of his realm. By paying homage to Hecataeus' warning on the eve of the Ionian Revolt Herodotus also recalls his own catalogue.³⁸

Positioned prominently, the catalogue of Xerxes' troops and fleet will then allow readers to visualise in geographical terms too the impression that all the empire has prepared for war against the coalition of Hellenes. Herodotus uses catalogues of cities, rivers and peoples to depict the routes of Xerxes' invasion forces across Thrace and Macedonia. Besides, they complete the information given to describe Thrace which had already been supplied in the context of Darius' campaigns (4.89–99; 5.1–16). In the further course of the campaign, the catalogues that provide primarily topographic-ethnographic information are complemented by various registers of communities and peoples that were involved in the hostilities on the side either of the Persians or of the defending alliance, or that even kept aloof. The universal dimension of the threat which – as outlined in Herodotus' scenario – was posed to the Hellenes in the west by the army of the

³⁶ Cf. West 1991, esp. 154–157.

³⁷ On the geo-political dimension of the catalogues of nations and troops in Herodotus, see Bichler 2007, esp. 76–80.

³⁸ Cf. Armayor 2004.

Carthaginian Hamilcar is illustrated, too, by a catalogue of the combatants. In addition to the Phoenicians and Libyans it lists five indigenous peoples in the west of Europe (7.165).

Herodotus remains overall very reserved in offering concrete references to the geography of Europe, despite repeated opportunities.³⁹ A characteristic example is the story of the shrewd physician Democedes of Croton. The fifteen Persians who were on a reconnaissance mission with Democedes as their guide sailed along the coasts of Hellas and noted down everything until they had seen the most important cities and arrived at Tarentum in Italy (cf. 3.135.1; 136). But Herodotus gives no topographical details. The same applies to the story of the failed expedition of Dorieus to southern Italy and Sicily, which remains sparse in this respect (cf. esp. 5.43–47). On the other hand, by specifying that Hamilcar brought about 300,000 men into the field (7.165), Herodotus draws attention to the considerable size of the area from which he recruited this multi-ethnic army that went to battle at Himera. The battle was supposedly fought on the same day as the battle of Salamis (7.166). Along with the synchronism which links Himera with Salamis, Herodotus links the battle in the west with the decisive field battle of the ‘wars of the Medes’, Plataea (9.64.2). Just as at Himera, so too at Plataea the defenders of Hellenic freedom are confronted by an army of about 300,000 (8.113; 9.32). Herodotus thereby not only pays tribute to the equivalent achievements of those who in the west and east at same the time ward off the threat to the freedom of Hellas (cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 1.75–80). He also demonstrates the spatial dimension of the threat, which comes from two sides, by presenting catalogues of peoples and numbers of combatants: it seems as if all the notable nations from the whole wide world had participated in the struggle. The more monstrous the army of the aggressors, however, the greater their fall.

³⁹ The route which the gifts of the Hyperboreans take to the sanctuary of Delos is charted only very sketchily by Herodotus. It first leads from the land of the Scythians as far as the Adriatic Sea and from there to Dodona, before it passes a number of other places in Greece (4.33.1–2). Even if Herodotus underlines the achievement of the Phocaeans as pioneers of navigation, ‘who opened the Adriatic, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessus to the Hellenes’ (1.163. 1), he fails to provide further details. The story of Colaeus of Samos, whose ship was caught in storms and driven from the island of Platea, off the Libyan coast, to Tartessus (4.152.2), does not supply any information at all on the duration or route of this Odyssey-like tempestuous voyage.

7 Boundless ambition

I remembered how Cyrus' attack on the Massagetae turned out, and I remembered also the expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians, and when I accompanied Darius on his campaign against the Scythians.

... μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατεύόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας.

Herodotus 7.18.2

The words which Xerxes' uncle Artabanus uses to explain why he would have wished to dissuade his nephew from his plan of the great campaign against Hellas take up a leitmotif of the *Histories*. All of the Persian kings' grand plans of conquest fail because of the boundlessness of their aims, their overestimation of their own power and their disregard of omens and voices warning against the transgression of set boundaries. Xerxes' claim to hold sway over all the countries on which the sun shines (cf. 7.8β–γ) represents the culmination of boundlessness. In Herodotus' scenario his campaign against Hellas results in effect from his striving for world domination (esp. cf. 7.53.2).

Now the claim to global dominance over geographical space constitutes an essential aspect of Persian royal ideology as it is conveyed in Achaemenid monuments.⁴⁰ Let me briefly outline its 'geopolitical' dimension. The arrangement of the various countries and peoples in catalogues and bas-reliefs occurs in several variants but reveals a concrete geographical conception of the world, with Persia, Media and Elam at its centre. From there, the fringe zones of the dominated world are still in view. Reduced to a simple formula, the 'four quarters' are staked out: 'This is the kingdom which I (Darius) hold, from the Saca who are beyond Sogdiana, from there as far as Kush, from the Indus as far as Sardis ...' (DPh).⁴¹ In principle, the dominion of the king, granted by Ahuramazda, stretches as far from Persia and Media as space seems controllable. 'A great (god is) Auramazda, who ... bestowed on Darius the kingship over this wide earth, in which are many lands: Persia, Media and the other lands of other tongues, of mountains and plains, from this side of the sea to that side of the sea, from this side of the desert, to that side of the desert' (DPg).⁴²

From an opponent's perspective this claim to dominance could easily be taken quite literally and, therefore, be critically rejected. This happened in the

⁴⁰ Cf. Kuhrt 2007, 469–575; Wiesehöfer 2007; Rollinger 2013; Rollinger 2014.

⁴¹ Kuhrt 2007, 476; cf. DHa § 2.

⁴² Cf. the Babylonian inscription DPg; Kuhrt 2007, 483.

Hellenes' perception and interpretation of their success in the Persian Wars: this success was not measured by the actual events and the opponent's actual war objectives but was claimed as a victory over a limitless, *hybris*-induced striving for conquest. Despite the abundance of military and economic resources which Darius and Xerxes had at their disposal, they were not able to subdue Hellas. Herodotus took up this interpretation of the Hellenic successes which was directed against the Persian royal ideology, and consistently refined it: in his representation of the history of the Persian Empire the claim to boundless domination extending in all four cardinal directions is systematically and impressively undermined.⁴³

Cyrus, who until that point seemed to be successful in everything he did, suffered a terrible debacle, together with his army, after he crossed the Araxes, which runs along the boundary of Asia, and advanced into the land of the Massagetae (1.201–214). Cambyses' plans to subdue the long-lived Ethiopians on the Southern Sea and the Ammonians and Carthaginians in the south west exceeded all bounds and failed miserably (3.17–26). The planned campaign against Carthage was not carried out at all (3.19). The army which he sent against the Ammonians was buried by a sandstorm (3.26). And the expedition against the pious Ethiopians, led by Cambyses himself, obviously did not even get as far as Meroë. Hunger had already decimated the army and brought on cannibalism when the king at last retreated (cf. 3.25).

Darius, finally, emerged from his campaign against the Scythians without too much damage (esp. cf. 4.131–142). After all, he had been able to push forward into the barren region which Herodotus marks as a border zone within the neighbouring peoples of the Scythians. At the river Oarus he had been forced to turn back (4.123–124). The depiction of his failed campaign once again offers the opportunity to mention the various peoples in the vicinity of the Scythians (cf. 4.120–142). It was the height of the arrogance induced by power when, as has been noted above, Xerxes claimed to hold sway over all the countries on which the sun shines.

Whereas in some cases daring discovery expeditions at the behest of or led by 'barbarian' kings – Sesostris and Necos, Darius and Xerxes – are able to advance to the farthest regions of the earth, there are limits to the domination of geographical space. Both aspects are illustrated on the basis of Herodotus' mental map. At the same time, his conception of the dimensions of the continents and oceans and of the peripheries of the *oecumenē* is corroborated by his description

⁴³ Cf. Bichler 2016, esp. 15–20; on Herodotus' critical 'response' to Persian royal ideology, cf. generally Jacobs/Trampedach 2013.

of these campaigns and exploratory journeys and voyages. This takes us back to Herodotus' involvement with the issue of 'maps of the earth' with which we started these deliberations. Herodotus also launched a second fundamental attack against the deceptive sense of security which could be conveyed by such maps: the well-known episode of Aristagoras' bronze tablet, which will conclude this presentation.

8 Conclusions: Aristagoras' bronze tablet

But when Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, came to Sparta ... Aristagoras had with him a bronze tablet on which a map of the entire world was engraved, including all rivers and every sea.

Ἀπικνέεται δ' ὢν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ... ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῇ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδου ἐνετέμνητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες.

Herodotus 5.49.1

Herodotus also addressed the problem that a world map of manageable size can only provide a very limited amount of geographical information. This is also confirmed by the well-known episode in Aristophanes' *Clouds* in which a map is the object of ridicule: according to the map, Sparta lies very close to Athens, and the most striking thing about Athens, namely its jury men, cannot even be seen (*Clouds* 206 f., 214 ff.).

Now the tricky effects the scale of a map is able to provoke is illustrated by the story of the 'map' which Aristagoras of Miletus brought with him when garnering support from King Cleomenes in Sparta for a rebellion against the Great King Darius.⁴⁴ By means of this map, Aristagoras depicted the settlement areas of particular nations which could be conquered and their riches acquired on the campaign to Susa. Only when he made the mistake of also (quite accurately) indicating the duration of the route to Susa to be three months did the hazardous nature of such a reckless venture become apparent (5.50). Aristagoras' tablet of bronze was treacherous: it could not even offer the wealth of information which the geographical and ethnographic catalogues of a Hecataeus had provided.

Aristagoras' use of his map as a means of political manipulation was a dirty trick. In the end he might almost have achieved his objective by bribing the King of Sparta had not the king's little daughter intervened in time (5.51). To make up

44 Jacob 1991, 41–48; Pelling 2007; Branscome 2010.

for this failure, Athens and its entire popular assembly fell easy prey to Aristagoras and his gimmicks – this time apparently not including his map (5.97). There is a bitter irony in this account, and it represents a vivid example of the political dimension of Herodotus' geographical interest. But Herodotus' criticism of the Athenians' imperialistic behaviour, which bit by bit put them in the footsteps of the Persian kings, is a different issue.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Cf., for example, Moles 2002; Raaflaub 2002; Fowler 2003b (more reluctant); esp., cf. Irwin 2013.

Nikolay P. Grintser

Herodotus as a literary critic

In recent work dedicated to Herodotus a great deal of attention is paid to the problem of his involvement in the intellectual exchange of philosophical, scientific and scholarly ideas current in Athens in the 5th century BC. It is worth noting in this respect that in both recent *Companions to Herodotus*, published by Cambridge and Brill, special chapters are focused upon the place of Herodotus within his ‘intellectual milieu’.¹ However, in their investigation scholars concentrate mainly on Herodotus’ indebtedness and contribution to contemporary intellectual insights into such fields as philosophy, including natural science and the theory of knowledge, politics, and to some extent rhetoric, etc., fields that are relevant to the general goals and the major message of his *Histories*. What I would like to do in this chapter is to draw attention to some minor aspects of Herodotus’ work that can be compared with the first instances of literary and linguistic reflection we can find in the writings of the sophists and the other thinkers of his age. Certainly, a lot has been said already about Herodotus’ relationship to other Greek literature, Homer and tragedy in particular², but what I shall focus on is not literature as such, but the criticism of literature that is just starting to emerge in the Greek culture of his time.

1 Sophistic criticism

In order to clarify my starting point, it is a necessary to deviate briefly from my main topic, just to illustrate to what kind of literary reflection I refer. In my view, various linguistic observations of sophists, like Protagoras and Prodicus, on the one hand, and of, say, Democritus, on the other, are often (if not always) connected with a discussion of particular fragments of literary texts, and first of all of Homer. I plan to discuss this thoroughly elsewhere; here just a couple of examples will suffice to clarify my point.

The first deals with Prodicus’ famous practice of pointing out subtle differences between synonyms. In Plato’s *Charmides* 163b–d one of Socrates’ interlocutors, Critias, draws a distinction between the verbs ‘to work’ (ἐργάζεσθαι) and ‘to do’ (ποιεῖν), arguing that ‘work’ always presumes something honourable,

1 Raaflaub 2002; Thomas 2006.

2 See, e.g., Pelling 2006b; Griffin 2006.

whereas one can ‘do’ things both good and bad (καὶ ποίημα μὲν γίγνεσθαι ὄνειδος ἐνίοτε, ὅταν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ γίγνηται, ἔργον δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ὄνειδος). Socrates reacts with an exclamation ‘I have heard thousands of times such distinctions of words from Prodicus!’ (καὶ γὰρ Προδίκου μυρία τινὰ ἀκήκοα περὶ ὀνομάτων διαιρουντος), clearly implying that Critias has learned all his linguistic tricks from the sophist. It is quite telling, therefore, that Critias develops his argument by commenting upon the Hesiodic line ‘Work is no disgrace; idleness is a disgrace’ (ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ’ ὄνειδος, *Works and days* 311) and comes to the conclusion that Hesiod ‘considered making (ποίησις) something other than doing (πρᾶξις) and working (ἐργασία), and that something made (ποίημα) was sometimes a disgrace when it was not connected to what is honorable (τὸ καλόν), but no work (ἔργον) was ever a disgrace, for he called what was made honourably and beneficially ‘works’ (ἔργα), and such makings he called workings and doings’. As Richard Hunter rightly remarks, ‘Critias is indeed here an early forerunner of critical methods which were to flourish later; they would, for example, be quite at home in Plutarch’s *How to Study Poetry*’.³ Indeed, the *Charmides* discussion later became a part of scholarly commentaries; for instance, it is included with a direct reference to Plato within Proclus’ scholia to the *Works and Days*.⁴ Moreover, different interpretations of this Hesiodic line seem to gain some popularity in the 5th century. Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (1.2.56) tells us that Socrates’ accuser ascribed to the philosopher an interpretation according to which no occupation, no matter how ignoble, is shameful (ἔφη δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ κατήγορος καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ποιητῶν ἐκλεγόμενον τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τούτοις μαρτυρίοις χρώμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας κακούργους τε εἶναι καὶ τυραννικούς, Ἡσιόδου μὲν τὸ “Ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ’ ὄνειδος· τοῦτο δὴ λέγειν αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς κελεύει μηδενὸς ἔργου μήτ’ ἀδίκου μήτ’ αἰσχροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει). As Hunter points out, such an understanding of Hesiodic verse implies the syntactic connection of οὐδὲν with ἔργον, instead of ὄνειδος, and I fully agree with him that ‘this is a critical move which would certainly not have been beyond the Socrates of Plato’s *Protagoras*, whose analysis of a poem of Simonides contains far more forced renderings’.⁵ Laying aside Socrates’ possible contribution to such a discussion, I

³ Hunter 2014, 209.

⁴ Schol. on Hes. *Works and days* 311–312: εὖ δ’ ὁ Πλάτων ἐξηγήσατο τὸ ἔπος. ἔργα γὰρ καλεῖν τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔργα. ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τῷ σπουδαίῳ πρέποντα ἔργα ὅσα οἰκεῖα σπουδαίῳ· διὸ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἔργα καλεῖ· τὰ δὲ φαῦλα μετὰ προσθήκης κακὰ ἔργα.

⁵ Hunter 2014, 209. Not going into details, I would like to emphasise here that the discussion of Simonides’ verse in the *Protagoras* 338e–347a reveals, in my view, an actual sophistic practice

would like just to stress my main point: Plato's *Charmides* directly describes a sophistic practice, specifically related to Prodicus' mastery in discerning 'the correctness of words' (ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων). Hence, one way of establishing this correctness was to demonstrate it by analysing the semantics of a given word or an expression within a given poetic context.⁶

The same mode of inquiry can be perceived in other instances of linguistic and literary reflection in the 5th century BC, most notably in reflection by Democritus. Again, in the present context one example should suffice. Aristotle in his *On the Soul* 404a refers to the views of his predecessor: Democritus 'commends Homer for saying that Hector "lay with thoughts distraught", as he is not using "mind" for designating a force aimed at the truth, but takes soul and mind to be one and the same' (καλῶς ποιῆσαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ὡς "Ἐκτωρ κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων". οὐ δὲ χρῆται τῷ νῷ ὡς δυνάμει τινὶ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτό λέγει ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν: DK A101=820 Luria). In the *Iliad* the epithet ἄλλοφρονέων (meaning something akin to the English 'not in his senses') is used only once, at 23.698 (καὶ δ' ἄλλοφρονέοντα μετὰ σφίσιν εἴσαν ἄγοντες), but in the accusative and (which is more important) referring not to Hector, but to another character, Euryalus suffering from a heavy blow struck by Epeius. Therefore, it is hardly possible to relate Democritus' reading to *Il.* 23.698, alleging Aristotle's bad memory or thinking that both Aristotle and Democritus were dealing with another version of Homeric text.⁷ Hector is not only out of his senses, but already dead in Book 23.

Hence, it is quite interesting (perhaps more for those interested in literary criticism than in the history of philosophy) to guess whether such a description might suit Hector in any episode of our *Iliad*. In fact, it does: at the beginning of Book 15 Trojan leader is suffering severely after his encounter with Ajax. Zeus 'saw Hector lying on the plain, while about him sat his comrades, and he was distressed with painful breathing, distraught in his heart' ("Ἐκτορα δ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἶδε κείμενον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι εἴαθ', ὃ δ' ἀργαλέῳ ἔχετ' ἄσθματι κῆρ ἀπινύσσων, 15. 9–10). One can easily suppose that the alternative reading, if it really existed, referred to this particular episode. Moreover, we can find an indirect proof in the Homeric commentaries of Eustathius 3.691.6–10: 'The fact that the ancients used

of interpreting given literary pieces aimed at searching within a literary text for some internal coherence (ὁμολογία, 339c7, d1).

6 I think that proper usage and proper combination of words within a given (poetic) text was the main issue in both Protagoras' and Prodicus' investigation of 'correctness of names' (ὀρθοέπεια / ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων).

7 As, for instance, C.C.W. Taylor does in his recent translation of Democritus' fragments (Taylor 2010, 105).

‘lie’ instead of ‘fall down’ is proved by the picture, when Hector lies, ‘distressed with painful breathing, distraught in his heart’, that is ‘being distraught in mind’ and ‘having no sense’ (ὅτι τὸ κείσθαι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐπὶ τε τοῦ πεπτωκέναι λέγεται, ὡς ὁ Ἑκτωρ νῦν ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενος ἄργαλέῳ εἶχετο ἄσθματι κῆρ ἀπινύσσων, ἥτοι ἄλλοφρονέων καὶ μὴ ὦν πινυτός). The ‘Democritean’ word is used as a paraphrase for the *hapa* ἀπινύσσων, along with the etymological explanation of the latter (μὴ ὦν πινυτός). Such a correlation of two rare epithets is rather suggestive, and one might argue that it goes back to the example Democritus used. Of course Democritus (and Aristotle) could have read another version of Homeric text where Hector κείτ’ ἄλλοφρονέων, but then the episode was at the beginning of Book 15. But there is another option: in Democritus’ time ἄλλοφρονέων was not in the Homeric text, but it was (as it is by Eustathius) used as an explanation for ἀπινύσσων. The latter case seems even more probable: the association of ἀπινύσσων with κῆρ looks a bit strange, but if it is glossed with ἄλλοφρονέων (etymologically related to φρονέω and φρήν), the picture becomes somehow more ‘physiologically’ adequate. And of course, the passage could be used as an illustration of φρόνησις (or νοῦς) and ψυχὴ being located in the same place (κῆρ), but that would be a philosophical consequence of a literary commentary upon a given line.

So it seems that in the 5th century BC we can speak about the emergence of literary and linguistic commentary on poetic texts, a process parallel to, or rather anticipating, the development of scholarly philology in the Hellenistic period. A minor but important characteristic of this process is a close interest in etymology, especially in the etymology of proper names as an important tool for an interpretation of poetic, and not only poetic, texts. So, Democritus, for example, suggested an etymological explanation (along with an allegorical interpretation) of Athena’s epithet, Τριτογένεια (DK B2=820 Luria), an explanation that could have additional significance in application to a specific Homeric context.⁸

8 Democritus associated Athena with mind and treated her epithet ‘Three-born’ as revealing three main things produced by φρόνησις: ‘proper thinking, proper speaking and doing what is appropriate’ (Δημόκριτος δὲ ἐτυμολογῶν τὸ ὄνομά φησιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς φρονήσεως τρία ταῦτα συμβαίνει· τὸ εὖ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ εὖ λέγειν καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἃ δεῖ). This fragment is taken from Homeric scholia where it refers to the *Iliad* 8.39–40; there Zeus is addressing Athena: θάρσει Τριτογένεια φίλον τέκος· οὐ νῦν τι θυμῷ | πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι. ‘Take heart, Tritogeneia, dear child! I speak, not meaning that in my soul, but I want to be kind to you’. With some effort, one might perceive in the structure of Zeus’ phrasing the same tripartite sequence that Democritus suggested for the products of mind personified by the goddess: proper thinking (πρόφρονι θυμῷ), speaking (μυθέομαι) and, finally, proper behavior (in this case, ἥπιος εἶναι). Certainly, Zeus is then ironically playing upon the true meaning of his daughter’s name

In the following part of my paper, I will concentrate upon similar instances of linguistic insights and literary comment that one can find in Herodotus' *Histories*, proving that he also paid some tribute to the development of this 'proto-philology'.

2 Herodotus' proto-philology

I am certainly not the first to stress Herodotus' philological interests. As Andrew Ford rightly reminded us, Diels had already treated the 'father of history' as also a 'father of philology' and a proto-sophist.⁹ The reason for title that was his excellent knowledge of Greek literary heritage, Homer in particular, which he used as a tool for validating his historical claims. It is worth noting that in doing so the historian bases his conclusions on the assumption of an internal logical consistency in a poetic text, in a way similar to the Platonic Protagoras who seeks for an internal 'congruence' (ὁμολογία) in Simonides' poem.¹⁰ Probably the most famous and much-discussed example of such a critical procedure is Herodotus' treatment of Helen's and Paris' voyage to Troy. Here the same idea of internal 'coherence' is claimed: Herodotus doubts Homer's authorship of the *Cypria* because there Paris is said to reach Troy on the third day, whereas both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* give an account of a longer journey, including a stay in Egypt (2.116–117).

This passage in Herodotus' Egyptian *logos* deserves attention for a number of reasons. Apart from finding a contradiction between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, on the one hand, and the *Cypria*, on the other (in order to prove that the latter was not composed by Homer), Herodotus' argumentation presumes the coherence of the former two poems regarding Paris' and Helen's stay in Egypt. However, this coherence is rather questionable in this case. The first example that Herodotus takes is from the *Iliad*:

ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
ἦγαγε Σιδονίηθεν ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον,

'Three-born': she doesn't perceive in his words his true inclinations and how he is going to treat her. But still, the passage might contain (in Democritus' view) an etymological explanation of an obscure epithet, with a latent allegorical sense.

⁹ See Ford 2002, 147–148.

¹⁰ See note 5 above.

τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν·

There her embroidered robes were kept, the work of Sidonian women, whom god-like Alexander had brought over from Sidon when he sailed the seas upon that voyage during which he carried off well-born Helen.

Iliad 6.289–292

This explicitly refers to Paris' and Helen's escape from Sparta. As for two further examples taken from the *Odyssey*, the first does not specify when Helen could have got gifts from the Egyptian princess Polydamna:

τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν, Θῶνος παράκοιτις,
Αἰγυπτίῃ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλά μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,
ἱητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων· ἧ γάρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης.

Such cunning drugs had the daughter of Zeus, drugs of healing, which Polydamna, the wife of Thon, had given her, a woman of Egypt, for there the earth, the giver of grain, bears greatest store of drugs, many that are healing when mixed, and many that are baneful; there every man is a physician, wise above human kind; for they are of the race of Paeon.

Odyssey 4. 227–232

The second is obviously connected with another story, that of Menelaus struggling with Proteus to find out his way back to Greece:

Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τελέεσσας ἐκατόμβας·

In Egypt, eager though I was to journey hither, the gods still held me back, because I offered not to them hecatombs that bring fulfilment.

Odyssey 4. 351–352

This clear contradiction has led scholars to doubt whether these Odyssean passages were part of Herodotus' authentic text. As A. Lloyd stated in his commentary, 'The conclusion of this chapter and the beginning of the next clearly proceed as though they were not there, but it is not inconceivable that they appeared in

Herodotus' manuscripts as afterthoughts which were never properly worked into the text'.¹¹

I would like to argue against this assumption. In fact, Homeric reference to Menelaus' encounter with mythological sea-god Proteus is quite relevant for both the previous and the following chapters of the *Histories*. In 2.113–115 Herodotus recounts the story heard from Egyptian priests according to which Helen never came to Troy but was kept in Egypt by an Egyptian king Proteus, while Paris was sent off alone; in 2.118–119 he resumes the story and tells that after the fall of Troy Menelaus came to Egypt and fetched his wife back from the hospitable and just king.

Thus Homeric examples serve as a natural and necessary link between the first and second parts of the story, recounting what happened to Helen before and after the fall of Troy respectively. Moreover *Odyssey* contains the most important proofs of the entire story – the names of Proteus and of Polydamna's father, Thon. The latter is obviously equated with a certain Thonis whom Herodotus calls the 'the warden of Nile's river-mouth' and who was the first to inform Proteus, the king of Memphis, about the arrival of strangers, namely Paris and Helen. The same figure appeared in the accounts of Helen's story by Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F307–309) and Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F153), and the latter wrote that Thonis was the name of the king himself who nearly raped Helen (here one can't help remembering Theoclymenus from Euripides' *Helen*). It is quite clear that all three versions refer to one particular verse of the *Odyssey*, 4.228, and it is significant that Hellanicus' interpretation was afterwards included in the scholia to this particular line.

The Proteus' episode in the Egyptian *logos* is usually discussed in the framework of Herodotus' involvement in the ancient debate on the role of Helen in the Trojan war and is hence compared with the versions by Stesichorus, Euripides and Gorgias.¹² I won't go into the details of such a comparison, but stress only the very idea of Herodotus paying tribute to this debate with his rationalistic interpretation. What I would like to emphasize is Herodotus' contribution to the critique of the Homeric text itself. In putting together the three Homeric passages the historian, in my view, is underlining the internal continuity of the Homeric text. Herodotus assumes that Homer did know the true story of Helen being kept in Egypt throughout the Trojan war, although he suppressed it as it was not 'equally suitable to his epic as that he actually used' (ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν

¹¹ Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 325.

¹² See Austin 1994, esp. 127–128; de Bakker 2012c; de Jong 2012.

ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο..., 2.116.3–4). I agree with Barbara Graziosi who claimed that Herodotus' argument 'has a distinctive sophistic colouring', implying the idea of poetic ὑπόνοια, 'hidden meaning', that was quite relevant for the sophistic interpretations of literary texts.¹³ Moreover, Herodotus seems to combine this analytical procedure with another, already mentioned: searching for the internal coherence of poetic text akin to Protagoras' interpretation of Simonides' poem. Helen is mentioned as staying in Egypt both before and after the Trojan war, both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, and that proves that Homer knew her 'true story' all along, no matter that in the *Iliad* she goes there with Paris but in the *Odyssey* with Menelaus. In that respect, Herodotus' *tour de force* argumentation resembles the 'strained interpretation of Simonides in Plato's *Protagoras*' even more.¹⁴

Herodotus' treatment of the Homeric text contains another feature of the 5th century's approach to poetry, namely a possible etymological interpretation of relevant names. In his recent article dedicated to the figure of Proteus, Mathieu de Bakker tried to establish a correspondence between the semantics of an alleged Egyptian king's name and the recurrent Herodotean idea of Egyptians being inventors of various cultural and religious institutions, such as is found, for instance, at 2.4.2, where Egyptians 'were the first [πρώτους] to use the names of the gods...and the first [πρώτους] to dedicate altars and statues and temples to the gods and to engrave their images in stones'.¹⁵ In order to emphasize the internal meaning of Proteus' name, Herodotus purposefully changes his usual expression λόγος πρότερος (meaning the 'story earlier told') into λόγος πρῶτος precisely within his narration of the Proteus story (2.118.4).¹⁶ Being focused upon the Herodotean Proteus as an emblematic figure for a historical inquiry aimed at the 'first reasons' of things and events, de Bakker makes a passing reference to the

¹³ Graziosi 2002, 117. On ὑπόνοια as one of the leading principles of literary interpretation in the 5th century Richardson 2006 (1975) remains one of the most illuminating contributions.

¹⁴ Graziosi, *ibid.* Certainly we may see here a 'belief that poetry has different criteria from other genres, and we may see here the kernel of that criticism of poetry that was to play so large a role in ancient literary criticism' (Marincola 2006, 22), although I doubt whether the Greek term εὐπρεπῆς here implies some specific characteristic of poetic style, rather than being just the idea that poetry tends to choose more colourful and less veracious stories (as opposed to Herodotus' own historical method). In my view, Herodotus' attempt to reveal in Homer a 'hidden version' consistently represented in *both* the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* tells much more about his views on 'literary criticism'.

¹⁵ de Bakker 2012c, 114.

¹⁶ Already observed by Powell 1937, 104.

same etymological wordplay (or ‘pun’ as he calls it)¹⁷ at *Odyssey* 4.452, when Menelaus says that Proteus ‘counted us first among the seals’ (ἐν δ’ ἡμέας πρώτους λέγε κήτεσιν; cf. also 4.411 [‘Proteus] will first count the seals and go around them’, φώκας μὲν τοι πρῶτον ἀριθμήσει καὶ ἔπεισιν).

In my view, this is not just an occasional parallel. In book 4 of the *Odyssey* Proteus is described as an ‘unerring’ wizard, ‘knowing all the depths of the sea’ (4.384–386: πωλεῖται τις δεῦρο γέρων ἄλιος νημερτής, | ἀθάνατος, Πρωτεύς Αἰγύπτιος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδε),¹⁸ and this image is very close to the Herodotean human Proteus, a wise king teaching Greeks the most important rules of justice and human behavior.¹⁹ The etymology of his name from πρῶτος is rather significant in this respect: it is not by chance that Herodotus specifically underlines the fact that he is calling the king of Memphis by his Greek name: τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληὴν ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν [τῶν] Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι (2.112.1–3).²⁰ If Herodotus had perceived such an etymology already in Homer and reinforced it in its own narrative, that gave him additional reason for linking his story with its Homeric antecedent. Moreover, if Herodotus consciously connected his Egyptian king with the Homeric ‘sea-wizard’, we could infer that the Herodotean treatment of this figure might have implied some euhemeristic or allegorical treatment of the *Odyssey* passage in question.²¹

17 de Bakker 2012c, 111 n. 17.

18 The idea of Proteus’ divine knowledge is also reinforced by the fact that in the corresponding episode of the *Odyssey* the formulaic phrase ‘gods know all’, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασιν, is used twice (4.379, 468). See Lamberton 1989, 3.

19 In this context, I find very interesting the ideas of Vandiver 2012, 149–155, according to whom Proteus in Herodotus is closely linked to epic, that is Homeric, values of *ξενία*.

20 Accordingly various attempts to find some possible Egyptian roots for this name seem rather far-fetched. See de Bakker 2012c, 111 n.14; Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2002, 322.

21 One might perceive other Herodotean allusions to the *Odyssey* too. As I. de Jong 2012, 138 has rightly pointed out, ‘much ink has been spilled’ on the final episode of Menelaus’ stay in Egypt when, according to Herodotus, he repaid Proteus’ hospitality with an evil deed, sacrificing two Egyptian children (2.119.3) in order to obtain favourable winds. De Jong herself, following a number of commentators, takes this as an obvious violation of the rules of *xenia* maintained by Proteus, and tries to explain this picture through Herodotus’ critical attitude to Greek misconceptions of Egyptian xenophobia. On the other hand, A. Lloyd (in Asheri/ Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 325) assumes that ‘the inspiration for this episode lies ultimately in *Od.* 4.351ff.’, although in Homer we have nothing about a human sacrifice. However, we have there several mentions of Menelaus being detained in Egypt by unfavourable winds and sacrificing to gods in order to obtain winds good for sailing (*Od.* 4.352, 478, 582). The idea of human sacrifice could have been inspired, as D. Fehling 1971, 48 supposed, by the analogous act of Agamemnon who sacrificed Iphigeneia in order to sail off to Troy from Aulis. This may be true; in Book 4 of the *Odyssey*, however, there

Here one may recall that Proteus was one of the most popular subjects for allegorical interpretations of Homer: according to these he was explained as an allegory for primary matter, for the origin and creation of the universe. Admittedly all these interpretations come from later sources;²² however the miraculous story about a god changing his form definitely called for an allegoric interpretation from the very beginning – as did his very name, which, according to the scholion to Od.4.384, was ‘very suitable’ to it: τὸ δὲ Πρωτέως ὄνομα εἰς τὴν ἀλληγορίαν ἐπιτίθειον). It is quite telling, therefore, that in Platonic dialogues Proteus is the usual metaphor for a sophist (*Euthydemus* 288b–c, cf. *Ion* 541e, *Euthyphro* 51c–d).²³ It was once suggested²⁴ that there might in the 5th century already be a tradition of representing Proteus as a mythical model for an ideal orator and sophist to which Plato has reacted: Herodotus’ ‘historical’ Proteus depicted as a sage might be another variation of this.

That Herodotus was rather keen on etymological interpretation of names is well attested and is maintained by various scholars²⁵. His etymological observations usually deal with the names of various ethnic groups or lands and places, which he derives from the name of their legendary ancestor or founder: Lydians are called after certain Lydus, 1.7.3, Lycians after Lycus, 1.173.3, Ionians after Ion, 8.44, Pelops gave his name to the land and people he conquered, 7.11, Medes got their name from Medea, 7.62. Toponyms are explained in a similar way, e.g. Thera in 4.148, Thasos in 6.47 etc.). But sometimes, as in the case of Proteus, Herodotus makes less trivial remarks about the origin of certain words and names. The most famous example is probably his explanation of the word for ‘gods’ that he ascribes to Pelasgians: ‘Pelasgians ... called them gods from some such notion as this, that they had set in order all things and so had the distribution of everything’ (θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα

are some motifs that could have been ‘echoed’ by Herodotus. Menelaus conquers Proteus by hiding with his comrades under the skins of seals (presumably) killed (by Eidothea, not by Menelaus himself), seals whom Proteus treats with care and love. These motifs of treachery and killing in some way anticipate Herodotus’ account – the more so as seals were seen by the ancients as being somewhat similar to human beings (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 521b24, 567a4–5).

²² Cf. Heraclitus, *Quaest. Hom.* 64–67, Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* 9.5, Iamblichus, *Comm. Math.* 7.10–13, Proclus, *Comm. in Remp.* I 112 lines 22–28. See Lamberton 1989, 226–227, Morgan 1999, 76–84.

²³ See, e.g., the analysis of the metaphor in McPherran 2003, 30–32; McCabe 2008.

²⁴ Richardson 2006 [1975], 84–85.

²⁵ See Fowler 1996, 72–73; Harrison 1998, 37–38; Harrison 2002, 251–264; Thomas 2002, 278–281; Munson 2005, 36–56.

πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον, 2.52.1). Several commentators²⁶ have compared this Herodotean passage to Plato's discussion of divine names in the *Cratylus*, dealing with the idea of 'correctness of names', ὀρθοέπεια or ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, that was developed by the sophists Protagoras and Prodicus. In this dialogue Plato suggests another etymological explanation of the Greek word θεός, this time from θεῖν 'to run':

I think the earliest men in Greece believed only in those [gods] in whom many foreigners believe today— sun, moon, earth, stars, and sky. They saw that all these were always moving rapidly in their courses and running, and so they called them gods (θεοὺς) from this running (θεῖν) nature; then afterwards, when they gained knowledge of the other gods, at that point they called them all by the same name.

φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους [τοὺς θεοὺς] ἡγεῖσθαι οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν· ἅτε οὖν αὐτὰ ὀρώντες πάντα αἰεὶ ἰόντα δρόμῳ καὶ θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν 'θεοὺς' αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι· ὕστερον δὲ κατανοοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἤδη τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύειν.

Plato, *Cratylus* 397c8–d6²⁷

However, the passage immediately preceding this explicit etymology seems to contain another, this time a hidden etymology (as sometimes happens in the *Cratylus*). This implicit etymology turns out to be quite similar to that of Herodotus:

but we are most likely to find the correct names in the nature of the eternal and absolute; for there the names ought to have been given with the greatest care and perhaps some of them were *given* by a power more *divine* than is that of men.

εἰκὸς δὲ μάλιστα ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν τὰ ὀρθῶς κείμενα περὶ τὰ αἰεὶ ὄντα καὶ πεφυκότα. ἐσπουδᾶσθαι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα πρέπει τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἴσως δ' ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ *θειοτέρας* δυνάμεως ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐτέθη.

Plato, *Cratylus* 397b7–c2

²⁶ See Thomas 2002, 279.

²⁷ On the role of this etymology within the general structure of the dialogue, see Sedley 2003, 103. Later this etymology became quite popular in grammatical and lexicographic treatises (see, e.g., *Etymologicum Gudianum*, p. 259 Stürz: Θεός, διὰ τοῦ θεῖν ἦγουν τρέχειν καὶ προφθάνειν τὰ πάντα). It can also be perceived in a fragment attributed to Philolaus (B21DK) in which *cosmos* is said to be based on two principles: 'ever running, divine' and 'ever changing, born' (τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, τοῦ μὲν αἰεὶ *θέοντος θείου* τοῦ δὲ αἰεὶ μεταβάλλοντος γενατοῦ, κόσμος). Although the fragment is unanimously included in the *spuria*, it definitely signals (being contrasted with Plato) that etymology was relevant for philosophical discourse.

‘Divine power’ comes into interplay with the verb ‘to set’ and the phrase ‘setting of names’, thus giving another possible explanation of the meaning of the word ‘god’. Moreover, the very idea of finding the true meaning of words by exploring the most sacred and ancient names of the gods somehow corresponds, in my view, with another famous phrase of Herodotus at the beginning of Book 2 (2.3.2): τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἕξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μῶνον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι (‘I am not inclined to expound those divine matters of which I heard except only for their names, as I think that all men know equally about them’). As Rosalind Thomas rightly remarked,²⁸ the second αὐτῶν here relates not to the ‘divine things’ (τὰ θεῖα), but to the ‘names’ (τὰ οὐνόματα), and Herodotus is not expressing some general, quasi-Protagorean scepticism concerning human knowledge of the gods,²⁹ but on the contrary is maintaining that it is possible for men to know something about the gods from their names alone. The ‘Pelasgian’ etymology of ‘gods’ gives an example of how that could be done.

The two contrasting etymologies preserved in the *Cratylus* presume that the discussion of the θεός etymology could be a known topic of debate by the time of Plato. Moreover, it has been suggested that one of the proponents of the etymology of θεός from τίθημι ‘to set’ might have been one of the known experts on the ‘correctness of names’, namely Prodicus, as can be seen in Xenophon’s paraphrase of Prodicus’ speech on the *Choice of Heracles*: ‘I will tell you truly the things that are, as the gods have established them’ (*Memorabilia* 2.1.27: ἀλλ’ ἤπερ οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν τὰ ὄντα διηγήσομαι μετ’ ἀληθείας).³⁰ If this attribution is correct, this etymology could be contrasted with Prodicus’ views on the nature of gods. Prodicus is sometimes described as an atheist,³¹ a label that should be used with due reserve, at least because he was not regarded as such by his contemporaries.³² Rather he was inclined to rationalise the notion of the divine by claiming that the ancients deified everything that was useful for them, that is, sun, moon, rivers and fountains – exactly like the Egyptians who considered the Nile to be a god: Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ Κεῖος ‘ἥλιον, φησί, καὶ σελήνην καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ κρήνας καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ ὠφελοῦντα τὸν βίον ἡμῶν οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν διὰ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον’... (Sextus Empiricus, *Against*

²⁸ Thomas 2002, 280.

²⁹ So Burkert 1985, 131.

³⁰ Sansone 2004, 141 n. 77. This hypothesis depends on whether Xenophon’s account is close or not to Prodicus’ original wording. Cf. the critique of Sansone’s view in Gray 2006.

³¹ Mayhew 2011, xvii, following Henrichs 1976.

³² See Henrichs 1976, 21; Sansone 2004, 141–142.

the Professors 9.18= Prodicus B5, 12–14 DK). The phraseology of this testimony seems to be quite close to that of the passage in *Cratylus* preceding the etymology of θεός; in both cases ancient people are said to deify natural phenomena – sun, moon, etc.; in both cases a reference is made to barbarian practices (by Sextus Empiricus, specifically to Egyptians). It is quite significant for this question that by Herodotus the invention of the name of ‘gods’ is ascribed to Pelasgians who are represented in his narrative in a somewhat twofold manner. On the one hand, in 1.56–58 they are described as barbarian; on the other, the etymology of θεοί (2.52.4–5) presumes that they were speaking some sort of Greek (and they are also said to have become a part of the Ionians and of those who inhabited Attica). I will not dwell on this contradictory picture,³³ but would like only to point out that in Herodotus they look like a mixture of ‘the most ancient Greeks’ and the ‘barbarians’ who were responsible for the establishing of the names for gods by Plato and Prodicus respectively. Moreover it is worth mentioning here that Egyptians are said by Herodotus to have taught Greeks the individual names for gods – another idea that makes commentators guess what Herodotus had in mind.³⁴ For Prodicus the Egyptians seem to be the first to deify particular beneficial entities (like the Nile), and the Greeks then followed a similar path: ‘hence bread was regarded as Demeter, wine as Dionysus, water as Poseidon, fire as Hephaestus, and thus everything that provides benefit’ (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Δήμητραν νομισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οἶνον Διόνυσον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον καὶ ἤδη τῶν εὐχρηστούντων ἕκαστον – B5, 14–16 DK). If we accept the idea that both Prodicus and Herodotus are following the same lines in explaining the etymology of θεοί,³⁵ this parallel can cast some additional light on the process of adapting Egyptian names for Greek gods claimed by Herodotus. One of the possible ways of understanding it, then, would be not the adaptation of *individual*

³³ See a thorough discussion in McNeal 1985 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 132–144. Cf. Harrison 1998, 23–25; Thomas 2002, 119–120.

³⁴ *Hist.* 2.50: ‘almost all the names of the gods came from Egypt to Greece’ (σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα). The general puzzlement is aptly summed up by Harrison 1998, 28: ‘Ultimately perhaps we should not struggle too officiously to make Herodotus consistent’. See, e.g., the discussion in Mikalson 2003, 171–178; Scullion 2006, 198–200 with 206–207, n.23.

³⁵ Interestingly enough, Prodicus describes the process of deification by the verb νομίζω (ἐνόμισαν, νομισθῆναι); if Herodotus’ etymology of θεοί also had some relation to Prodicus, his explanation of ‘gods’ being equivalent to ‘distributions’ (νομάς) is also rather suggestive.

names themselves, but the very *principle of designating* by them some important powers existing in the world.³⁶

Going back to the ‘Pelagian’ etymology of the word θεοί, one might also speculate whether both Herodotus and Prodicus could have been inspired in their interpretation of it by literary tradition. We come across possible wordplay on the θεός–τίθημι connection already in Homer, where the formulaic expression θεοὶ (ἔ)θέσαν is frequent: *Iliad* 1.290, 9.637, *Odyssey* 11. 274, 555, 23.11. Following Homer’s example, tragedians of the 5th century also favored this sort of *paronomasia*: ἔθεσαν θεοί (Aeschylus, *Persae* 283); ἄκραντα γάρ μ' ἔθηκε θεσπίζειν θεός (Euripides, *Alexander*, fr. 62g Kannicht); μακάριόν μέ τις θεῶν ἔμελλε θήσειν, εἰ τύχοιμι σῶν γάμων (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 1404–1405). One can also perceive possible etymological reasoning in Hesiod’s passage describing Fame:

φήμη γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται κούφη μὲν αἶραι
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλήν δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
 φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα πολλοὶ
 λαοὶ φημίζουσι· θεός νύ τις ἔστι καὶ αὐτή.

Fame is rather harmful, quite easy to be raised, but hard to bear and difficult to get rid of. Fame never dies completely if a lot of people voice it, so it is somewhat divine.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 761–764

As Martin West has emphasized, Fame is personified here as a deity³⁷. The expression οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται could be taken as a paraphrase for ἀθάνατος, and hence the final clause: ‘and she is somehow a goddess’ becomes a conclusion from the previous assumption. Thus, θεός in the last line is specifically marked and may be contrasted with ἀπο-θέσθαι in line 762: Fame is a god (θεός) for the further reason that it is very hard to set her apart (ἀπο-θέσθαι).

So it seems that in his treatment of the ‘Pelagian’ name for ‘gods’, Herodotus is engaged in a discussion of divine names that was current in the 5th century and combined some sort of etymological expertise with the rationalisation of religious beliefs. Moreover, the starting point of this discussion may again be literary texts, both traditional and contemporary.

I would like to end my paper with another, famous example of Herodotus referring to poetic tradition. That is his quotation of Pindar’s fr. 169a SM νόμος ὁ

³⁶ This interpretation is close to the one supported, among others, by Burkert 1985, 125–131 and Scullion 2006, 199–200 with one modification: Herodotus implies not only the idea of naming the ‘distinct divine personalities’, but also a particular reason for this process.

³⁷ ‘The new goddess arises out of his train of thought’ (West 1996 [1978], 345).

πάντων βασιλεύς at 3.38. It becomes the final conclusion to the story of Darius trying in vain to bribe Indians and Greeks into changing their burial customs (Indians were eating their dead, whereas Greeks were burning the corpses). Representatives of both peoples refused with horror and disgust. Some commentators therefore assume that Herodotus is expressing some sort of cultural relativism, of a somewhat sophistic kind,³⁸ and that νόμος means a particular ‘custom’ practised by a certain people. However, this interpretation is strongly opposed by quite a number of scholars who take it as misjudging Herodotus’ world outlook and suggest that he wishes to distinguish particular human practices from the universal transcendent law of nature and justice that is implied here.³⁹ In the latter view, Pindar’s phrase refer to Cambyes, who broke all the laws and customs of different peoples and must ultimately be punished for that. Indeed, the enumeration of Cambyes’ atrocities immediately precedes the anecdote about Darius, and serves (according to this interpretation) to prove Cambyes’ ‘madness’ in neglecting other peoples’ beliefs and traditions.

Along with the desire to deny Herodotus’ ‘relativism’, the proponents of the latter view claim that it is the only way to understand why the historian is using Pindar to support his cause. Indeed, those who think that Herodotus is here stressing cultural differences, and not the general, even divine, law, are forced to assume that he ‘does use the phrase ‘*Nomos* is king’ in a different sense from Pindar’.⁴⁰ In its turn, Pindar’s fragment has also been the subject of a long and ongoing discussion. It is reconstructed on the evidence of papyrus fragments along with quotations in Plato and Aelius Aristides,⁴¹ and tells the story of Heracles’ exploits of capturing the oxen of Geryon and mares of Diomedes.. It starts with this much-quoted phrase and runs as follows:

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ. τεκμαίρομαι
 ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος·

³⁸ Burkert 1990, 22–23; Thomas 2002, 125–126

³⁹ Humphreys 1987, 212–214; Provencal 2015, 49–53.

⁴⁰ Thomas 2002, 125. Cf. ‘Herodotus is not interested here in the original meaning of Pindar’s text; he isolates the verse from the context and quotes it as a motto for his purposes of ethnological and moral comparison’ (Asheri in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 437).

⁴¹ See the reconstruction together with a detailed discussion in Ostwald 1965 and Kingsley in this volume pp. 37–58.

Law (or Custom) is the king of all things, immortal and mortal. It drives to justice the most violent with an upper hand. I take as an example the deeds of Heracles...

The ode's general sense is hard to grasp due to the fragmentary nature of its text; a number of interpretations has been suggested. According to the view now prevailing, Heracles' deeds are taken as an example of brutal violence which is somehow vindicated by the idea of *nomos*. So, the 'law' here is taken to imply some general principle governing both the universe and human relations.⁴² Hence, if Herodotus has preserved the Pindaric meaning of the term, we should agree with those who treat this quotation as referring not to the specific customs of particular nations, but to the general law of nature and society.⁴³

However, in Herodotus' account νόμος does imply the idea of peculiar ethnic differences. The Darius anecdote is preceded by a general statement (3.38.3–7):

If somebody were to suggest to all people to choose the best laws among all the laws, after thorough examination every people would prefer their own as they are convinced that their own laws are the very best.

εἰ γάρ τις προθεῖη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι.

The story about Greeks and Indians is used as an illustration of this general assumption (3.38.8–11):

One can draw a lot of examples proving that all the people have the same conviction about their laws, among others the following one.

ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοις πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε.

⁴² The notion itself is understood differently: either as the supreme will of Zeus (Lloyd-Jones 1972, 56) or as 'an overarching principle that operates out of sight to regulate the universe as a whole' (Payne 2006, 164). Sometimes Heracles is treated not as a transgressor, but as a true embodiment of *nomos* that 'on some occasions at least, reserves the right to enforce the use of extreme violence and to overrule justice' (Kyriakou 2002, 206).

⁴³ The same is true, by the way, for another quotation of this Pindaric line, this time in Plato's *Gorgias* 484 b-c, where Callicles is treating it as an illustration of a general principle of the 'right of the stronger'. In this respect, although it is true that Callicles replaces Pindar's original meaning of νόμος by the 'νόμος τῆς φύσεως which he has just created' (Grote 1994, 25), he might be following Pindar in interpreting it as a governing power of the universe.

It is rather suggestive that Herodotus is using here a word for ‘example’ (τεκμήριον) from the same root as the term by which Pindar defines his illustration of the ‘*Nomos the king*’ formula by Heracles’ deeds (τεκμαίρομαι ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος). This parallel shows, in my view, that Herodotus had in mind not just the famous phrase but the much broader context of Pindar’s poem. This context could be enlarged even further if we contrast Herodotus’ claim that ‘every people would prefer their own laws as they are convinced that their own laws are the very best’ with another fragment of Pindar, fr. 215a.2–3 SM: ἄλλα δ’ ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν δ’ αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος (Different are the customs of different people, and everyone praises his own justice).

This fragment is usually opposed to fr. 169a as expressing a ‘relativistic idea’ of νόμος.⁴⁴ When (rather rarely) compared to Herodotus, it is usually taken as evidence that Pindar was aware of the fact that νόμος could be applied exclusively to human customs and beliefs.⁴⁵ But taking into consideration the Pindaric ‘flavour’ of the entire passage at 3.38,⁴⁶ I would suggest taking Herodotus’ statement about men preferring their own νόμοι as another, this time indirect, Pindaric quotation that should be linked to that of ‘*Nomos the king*’. If that is correct, we are dealing here (as in the case of the three Homeric quotations about Helen in Egypt) with the same principle of a poetic account’s presumed internal coherence. Herodotus puts together two Pindaric passages concerning the notion of νόμος: originally they might have been expressing opposite ideas,⁴⁷ but Herodotus combines them to prove his own point.⁴⁸ If this interpretation is correct, the ‘relativistic’ interpretation of 3.38 is right, but with one significant modification. Herodotus is not taking the ‘*Nomos the king*’ formula out of its original context; he is changing its original meaning by contrasting it with another Pindaric passage, following the same principle of searching for internal ‘agreement’ within a poetic

⁴⁴ Rutherford 2001, 388.

⁴⁵ Payne 2006, 179 n. 46.

⁴⁶ One might guess that the idea of Indians eating their dead relatives could somehow allude to the ‘man-eating’ mares of Diomedes in fr. 169. Cf. n. 21 above.

⁴⁷ Suggestively, in 215a we are dealing with νόμιμα, not νόμος. Cf., however, Crotty 1982, 106 on the implication in Pindar’s νόμος (of fr. 169a) of ‘human beliefs and evaluations’.

⁴⁸ The assumption that Herodotus deliberately contrasted two passages from different poems of Pindar certainly raises the question of the shape that the Pindaric corpus might have had in his time. Although we lack any reliable evidence, one may agree with Hubbard 2004 and 2011 that the new technologies of writing must have played an important role in both the composition and the dissemination of Pindar’s poems in the fifth century. Hence, we may suppose (albeit hypothetically) that there could have existed some local editions of Pindaric texts (Thebes and Athens being the most probable candidates). See also the brief, but illuminating discussion of the problem in Phillips 2016, 3–5.

text that Plato's Protagoras applied to Simonides (and Herodotus himself to Homer).⁴⁹

There is also a possibility that in his treatment of νόμος Herodotus might have alluded to the inner form and etymology of the word. Being derived from the verb νέμειν, 'to distribute, to allot', νόμος could infer the idea of specific 'distribution' of customs among different nations. This idea can be seen in recurrent phrasing within the passage: 'every people would prefer their own laws', 'every people consider their own laws the very best' (ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι) along with constant repetition of the word νόμος itself (5 times in 3.38) together with its derivative νομίζω (νομίζουσι ... νενομίκασι ... νενόμισται). One might say that throughout the entire passage we are dealing with a repeated *figura etymologica* (cf. νομίζουσι ... τοὺς νόμους in 3.38.6) that draws the attention to the form of the word νόμος, 'custom', itself.⁵⁰

3 Conclusions

So it seems that in his treatment of poetic texts and language Herodotus was on the whole very much 'sophistic'. But this characterisation is too narrow. In the 5th century the ideas of the internal coherence of a poem and of etymology as a useful device for an interpretation of a given poetic text were shared not only by 'sophists' like Protagoras and Prodicus, but also by philosophers, like Democritus, and, as it turns out, by historians, like Herodotus. They all were participating in an ongoing intellectual debate that gave birth to the tradition of literary criticism and commentary, a tradition which was later formalised and institutionalised by scholars and grammarians.

⁴⁹ One can argue that in Plato's *Protagoras* the discussion concerns one and the same poem, whereas here we are conjecturally dealing with two separate fragments of the Pindaric corpus. However, Herodotus' comparison of passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the Egyptian *logos* reveals his method of taking into consideration 'everything' the poet has said about a relevant matter. Moreover, this method was later applied to Pindar himself, and to the 'νόμος fragment' in particular. This is exactly what Aelius Aristides (2.229 Lenz-Behr) does in his treatment of it, contrasting fr. 169a with fr. 81 SM in order to prove that Pindar was sympathetic towards Geryon. On that, see Demos 1994, 96–97.

⁵⁰ Interestingly enough, some commentators think that the etymological meaning of νόμος was relevant for Pindar as well. Cf. Demos 1994, 99.

Paul Demont

Herodotus on Health and Disease

1 Introduction

Health and diseases in Herodotus are topics that have often been studied, whether as a means of understanding ancient conceptions of diseases, or in order to read Herodotus ‘in context’, i.e. in the context of medical writers challenging one another, as in the works of the Hippocratic corpus.¹ Both subjects are of course among the human wonders that he wants to describe, and equally wonderful are the means of curing diseases or preserving health. As Herodotus is not a doctor, it may be useful to try briefly to clarify his stance when he tells such stories. Of course he knows that doctors exist to care for the sick, and unlike those who are criticised in the Hippocratic *Art* he does not doubt the very existence of the art of medicine.² In Book 3 he gives us the most precise description of a doctor that we have for the fifth century BC: his extraordinary Democedes of Croton, portrayed in a very positive light.³ He knows that Egyptian doctors could specialise, which is true (2.84), and that there are no doctors in Babylonia, which is false (1.197). This passage about Babylonia is the only one in which the distinction between doctors and laymen is explicit. As (in Herodotus’ opinion) there are no doctors in Babylonia, everyone must offer their own opinions about the sick people lying in the street, either because they have had the same illness themselves or because they know someone similarly afflicted, in order to help them. Herodotus tells us that this custom is the ‘second best’ *nomos* in Babylonia. This is an example of ‘overt external primary-narrator focalization’.⁴ But the narrator does not explain why he finds this *nomos* especially wise. Any reader knows that he is typically willing to give his opinion about health and disease without any explicit reference to medical advice, but, differently from the Babylonians, with covert allusion to medical knowledge. This is not far from Thucydides’ stance that it is

1 On the first tendency, see Kudlien 1967, Grmek 1983, and Althoff 1993, on the second, Thomas 2000, 28–68 and bibliography. On the limitation of the concept of ‘Hippocratic’ medicine, see Dean-Jones and Rosen 2016 (esp. van der Eijk’s paper, “On ‘Hippocratic’ and ‘Non-Hippocratic’ medical writings”).

2 On *de Arte* and its aims, see Jouanna 1988a, 167–190.

3 See esp. 3.129–131, whatever may have been the historical reality of his story (Jouanna 1999, 25–26, 76–78, Griffiths 1987, 37–51).

4 De Jong 2014, 48–50.

both useful and necessary to describe the plague in Athens, though not as a doctor.⁵ Perhaps half a century later, the Hippocratic author of *Regimen* distinguishes two categories among his readers: the best ones have enough time and money to think seriously about their health, and can read rather long and difficult medical treatises like *Regimen*.⁶ Plato knows such people, and he does not rate them very highly, as they are not doctors but only readers of doctors.⁷ Before Plato and *Regimen*, and also before Thucydides, Herodotus is a first example of such a well-read layman, and this kind of focalisation, which is ‘overt’ but also ‘covert’ (as the narrator expresses an opinion in a very general way) associates his readers with this point of view. This stance is one reason why his descriptions of diseases display similarities with some Hippocratic descriptions. But it is also a reason why there are important differences between them. Some of these differences are linked to chronology, and to the fact that only fragments of classical medical knowledge are available to us: Herodotus offers us a view of diseases and health at a stage of medicine which predates – and sometimes dissents from – Hippocratic texts.

2 Three ‘Hippocratic’ parallels

It is well known that parallels between Herodotus and the Hippocratics are nevertheless often direct. Here are three, for example, that are quoted by Grmek, and about which it is perhaps possible to add some qualifications. The first allows me to stress a difficulty in precisely understanding the Herodotean point of view.

Pharnouches had a bad fall from a horse: after his fall he vomited blood ‘and began to waste away’ (καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος, 7.88). This is Godley’s translation for the Loeb series. Are the meanings of the verb περιέρχομαι, and of the first attestation of the word φθίσις, more precise? Would a better translation be: ‘and the disease ends up in phthisis’?⁸ Kudlien would not press the meaning so far. He translates more precisely than Godley, but in a similar way: ‘die Krankheit ging in ein Dahinschwinden über’, which would mean ‘die Krankheit wurde chronisch’, thus understanding this description as an intermediary step in the history of medicine, when φθίσις did not yet have the Hippocratic meaning of

⁵ Demont 2013.

⁶ [Hipp.] *Vict.* 3.68–69.

⁷ Pl. *Plt.* 293–298.

⁸ Grmek 1983, 270–271 translates: ‘la maladie se transforma en phthisie’, without stressing the use of περιέρχομαι. Thomas sees here a ‘general medical allusion’ (2000, 30 n.2).

‘*Lungenschwindsucht* (Tuberculose)’:⁹ at this point it only meant a disease that becomes ‘nichttraumatisch’, and then ‘chronisch / unheilbar’.¹⁰ But, as a matter of fact, on the one hand, the Hippocratic meaning of φθίσις is not so precise; it is something like ‘consumption’,¹¹ and, on the other hand, the Hippocratics know of diseases which turn into other diseases: this is something that a doctor should learn.¹² Usually other verbs (μεταπίπτειν, μεθίστασθαι) describe these transformations, but the verb περιέρχομαι is used once, in *Diseases* 4.57.6, with a similar meaning, although with a different subject: ἔτι δὲ χαλεπώτερα γίνεται, ἢν ἐξ ἐτέρης νόσου τοῦ σώματος τηχθὲν ἐς τοῦτο (scil. τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα) περιέλθῃ, ‘but the severity is even greater when the body suffers liquescence as the result of another disease, and ends up in this one’ (transl. Lonie). If Pharnouches’ first symptoms ‘end up’ in a disease, φθίσις is a medical name of this latter disease, and has a technical meaning in Herodotus’s scientific stance, although this change is not attested in the Hippocratic writers. Of course this may be his source’s diagnosis, but it is important that he does have a medical stance, and refrains from citing any medical advice when relating Pharnouches’ death. This first example would then, in my opinion, illustrate the similarity between Herodotus and Hippocratic descriptions.

The infections of Cambyses’ and Miltiades’ thighs are also without any doubt described with the medical vocabulary that we find in Hippocratic texts, but not in every detail. As for Cambyses’ death, ‘when after this the bone rotted and the thigh rapidly putrefied (ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη), it carried off Cambyses son of Cyrus’ (3.66.2, transl. Godley). Miltiades’ death is similar. ‘His thigh was festering (ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ); he was laid before the court on a couch, (...). Miltiades later died of gangrene¹³ and rot in his thigh’ (μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, 6.136.2, transl. Godley). This is a complication of such cases as those which are described with the same vocabulary in *On joints* 55: ἢν ἐπισφακελίῃ ὁ μηρὸς, ἐμπυήματα χρόνια καὶ ἔμμοτα γίνεται, ‘if necrosis of the thigh-bone occurs in some of these cases,

⁹ Kudlien 1967, 110.

¹⁰ Kudlien 1967, 116.

¹¹ Of course this ‘phtisie’ is not easy to interpret in modern terms. Grmek 1983, 270–271 rightly comments upon Meinecke and Kudlien: ‘le premier a tort de vouloir identifier complètement la phtisie d’Hérodote à la consommation tuberculeuse; le second exagère, à notre avis, en niant à cette phtisie toute spécificité nosologique’.

¹² See Robert 1990 (who does not quote this text). *Morb.* 1.3 lists eight diseases that turn (μεταπίπτει) into other diseases.

¹³ Grmek 1983, 190 translates more exactly: ‘la pourriture gagna rapidement la cuisse’.

chronic abscesses are formed, requiring tents', transl. Withington).¹⁴ But it should be noted that the verb used by Herodotus to describe what certainly is a fracture (τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι, 6.134.2) is never used with this meaning in the Hippocratics, one reason why the exact meaning of this text has been debated.¹⁵

Lastly, the famous story of the breast disease of Queen Atossa also has parallels: 'There was a swelling (φῦμα) on the breast of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius, which broke and spread further (ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω). As long as it was small, she hid it out of shame and told no one; but when it got bad, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him' (3.133.1, transl. Godley). Doctors note that ποιεοῦσι καὶ μαζοὶ φύματα, 'the breasts develop tubercles (φύματα)', (*Glands* 17, transl. Potter).¹⁶ The fact that an abscess (φῦμα) may come to break is well known by physicians in case of urinary diseases, and in this case it is a positive development, of course: ὁκόσοισιν ἐν τῇ οὐρήθρῃ φύματα φύεται, τουτέοισι, διαπυήσαντος καὶ ἐκραγέντος, λύσις, 'When tumours (φύματα) form in the urethra, should they suppurate and burst, there is relief' (*Aph.* 4.82, transl. Jones, cf. *Nature of man* ch.14: ἄτε οὐ ταχέως ἐκραγόντων τῶν φυμάτων, 'since the tumours do not break quickly', transl. Jones). Is it a positive development in the case of Queen Atossa's breast disease? Herodotus does not make any comment upon the break. Afterwards 'the abscess spreads'. Stein notes that this verb is also used by Herodotus for fire (5.101), and, as Jouanna notes, it is appropriate here because the abscess seems to become a malignant ulcer.¹⁷ In Hippocratics we find this vocabulary in a somewhat similar case of a dangerous spreading disease linked to the rupture of a swelling — but concerning fistulas coming from different causes: σηπόμενον γὰρ νέμεται ἐς τὰ μαλθακά, ἅτε ὑγροῦ ἐόντος τοῦ τε ἀρχοῦ, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς μαλθακῆς, ἐν ᾗ νέμεται, ἔστ' ἂν τὸ φῦμα ῥήξῃ καὶ κάτω ἐς τὸν ἀρχὸν διασῆψῃ, 'On putrefying, this blood migrates through the soft parts, the rectum being moist, and the intervening tissue soft, until the tubercle ruptures and suppurates its way down through into the rectum' (*Fistul.* 1, transl. Potter). This observation about Atossa's disease,

¹⁴ These are 'les premières descriptions des inflammations purulentes traumatiques' (Grmek 1983, 190 ff., with useful comments upon the double meaning of ἔλκος, 'wound' and/or 'ulcer' in archaic thought and its analysis of putrefaction, 188–189, correcting Kudlien's hypothetical reconstruction: 'la confusion entre la plaie et l'ulcère devait exister d'emblée').

¹⁵ 'Il ne pouvait pas s'agir d'un déboîtement simple de la hanche, comme le laissent entendre certains commentateurs' (Grmek 1983, 191, 'si sia ferito la coscia', Nenci 1998, 313–4, both referring to Daly 1980).

¹⁶ In this case (very different from Atossa's disease) the cause is that 'their milk turns bad'.

¹⁷ Jouanna 1988b, 356–359 (on νέμεσθαι). Probably this was not a cancer but an inflammatory mastitis (cf. Grmek 1983, 497).

then, is another technical diagnosis, without any prognosis and therapy. It is made by a layman, the primary narrator Herodotus, but here also it implies a covert embedded focalisation (from the point of view of Democedes), and it thus emphasises Democedes' skill, as Atossa's health is going to improve.¹⁸

3 Disease and the divine

These three approximately Hippocratic diseases are described without explicit reference to any religious causality: this is often the case in Herodotus' narrative (e.g. 1.161, 216, 2.142, 3.143, 4.160, 6.136, 7.83, 117). But Herodotus also reports that the Parians say that Miltiades' death was linked to his entering the precinct of Demeter the Lawgiver ('seized with panic ... he broke his thigh, but some say he hit his knee', 6.134.2, transl. Godley modified). And Herodotus' narrative implies that Cambyses' wound on his thigh was an exact retribution for having injured the Egyptian bull-god Apis' thigh. Natural causation does not preclude religious causation. Moreover, as is well known, Herodotus often explicitly links diseases to a religious cause. Many secondary narrators recognise divine interventions, e.g. in the case of the first disease in the work (that of Alyattes, 1.19–25), and the last (the story of Euenius, 9.93–95).¹⁹ The primary narrator agrees with them about the female disease of the Scythians (1.105), about Cleomenes' madness (6.84.3), and about a plague in Chios (6.27).²⁰ But certainly the most extraordinary case is the death of Pheretime, which the narrator describes as a most remarkable example of the gods' action.

But Pheretime did not end well, either. For as soon as she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she met an awful death. For while still alive she teemed with maggots (ζώουσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε): thus does over-brutal human revenge (αἱ λίαν ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι) invite retribution from the gods. That of Pheretime, daughter of Battus, against the Barcaeans was revenge of this nature and this brutality.

Herodotus 4.205, transl. Godley

'Still alive': that is the point. What happens to cadavers that are not burnt happened to her when she was alive. Homer knows that flies enter corpses and give birth to worms that corrupt the flesh (*Iliad* 19.25–27). Herodotus knows that in

¹⁸ Thus a special case of embedded inquiry (to be added to Demont 2009a).

¹⁹ See also 1.174, 4–6.

²⁰ Thomas 2000, 32–33.

Egypt ‘it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts (θηρίοις); and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and feed worms (ὕπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ)’, and even burning corpses is not permitted, since for Egyptians fire is a ‘living beast (θηρίον) that devours all that it catches’ (3.16.3–4). The gods here punish Pheretime’s brutality by giving her alive to savage internal beasts. It is just the first example of worms being held responsible for the death of kings.²¹ The idea that worms may be responsible for death by a process named ἐκζέειν (‘boiling’, hence ‘teeming’) is still attested at a very late period: Lucian’s Alexander teemed with worms (with a syntax similar to Herodotus: σκολήκων ζέσας, *Alex.* 59). There are similar processes involving lice, and, for example, Speusippus is said to ‘have been teeming with lice’ (ἐκζέειν φθειρσί, D.L. 4.4).²² It seems that such a story would not need any mention in a study about Herodotus the scientist.²³ In fact there is no direct parallel between such narratives and the Hippocratic corpus. But in this corpus there is no study of death (the verb ἐκζέειν is only used of the growth of plants and of the embryo, in *On Generation*). There are indeed worms in Hippocrates: *Diseases* 4 explains in much detail diseases that are linked to different species of worms (κηρίαι, ἔλμινθες, θηρίον), but these diseases are not at all fatal (ch. 54). A discussion of the prognostic value of intestinal worms that are passed either alive or dead is attested in Herophilus ‘Against Hippocrates’ *Prognostic*,²⁴ and it may be related to a passage in *Prognostic* which says that it is useful that round worms (ἔλμινθες) should pass with excrement when a disease is near its crisis (11a, 3). As a matter of fact it is a good *crisis* in *Epidemics* 4.55 that a worm should pass in a woman’s faeces.²⁵ Apart from this possible value of worms for prognostic purposes, it seems impossible to trace any precise relationship between Pheretime’s death and the medical writers.

This story may be nevertheless helpful for a better understanding of one aspect of Hippocratic medicine, namely its analysis of θηρίον, one of these Hippocratic words for worms, but one which may also mean ‘malignant ulcer’. The related adjective θηριώδης is also understood either as ‘malignant’ (more precisely

²¹ Africa 1982.

²² On lice and *phtheiriasis*, see Samama 2015 (esp. 73) and Pietrobelli 2015 (who lists famous examples of fatal *phtheiriasis*: Acaste, Alcman, Pherecydes, Sulla, Callisthenes, Mucius Scaevola!).

²³ There is no mention of it in Thomas 2000.

²⁴ Cf. von Staden 1989, 432–433 (T 261).

²⁵ It is not clear whether the fact that these worms are alive or dead is important there. Jouanna 2013, 146–147 shows that there could be a lacuna in our text (‘Le *Pronostic* d’Hippocrate devait donc faire la différence entre un pronostic favorable lorsque les vers évacués sortent vivants et un pronostic défavorable quand ils sont évacués morts’).

‘voracious’) or ‘full of worms’. Commentators ancient and modern disagree about the meaning of these terms in a number of texts. A disease ‘due to worms’ is linked to autumn in *Epidemics* Books 2, 4 and 6 (e.g. 6.1.11), and worms appear in diseases of the belly in other treatises (*Coac.* 279, 458, 459, 613), but for others θηρίον is not a disease due to worms, but a malignant and ‘voracious’ ulcer, that a commentator once calls ‘savage’ (ἄγριον ἔλκος).²⁶ However the meaning ‘worm’ is necessary in several passages, at least in *Diseases* Book 4 just quoted.²⁷ And of course θηριώδης has other meanings in Greek. The first one given by *LSJ* is ‘full of wild beasts’, and this is a frequent meaning in Herodotus (e.g. Libya is θηριώδης, 4.181). Jouanna, who would like to understand θηρίον as ‘ulcer’, and θηριώδης as ‘voracious’ or, with a more general meaning, ‘malignant’ in the Hippocratic corpus, has rightly stressed the ongoing conception of a disease as a wild beast which such a vocabulary implies in Hippocratics and in tragedy as well.²⁸ It is perhaps possible to add an explanation for the word’s polysemy. At an early stage there could have been a link between the two meanings ‘worm’ and ‘voracious ulcer’. Worms are the most visible wild beasts infesting the human body (and especially visible after death). A ‘voracious’ ulcer may have been an ulcer which is ‘full of wild beasts’. And θηρίον could then have referred *both* to worms and to ulcers. The narrative of Pheretime’s death may help us to understand this polysemy. It is not only a moral lesson about great sinners, but also a wonderful and horrible example of an early, maybe popular, association between malignant ulcers and wild worms devouring human flesh, which does not occur in the Hippocratics except within the polysemy of θηρίον, but which afterwards has had a

²⁶ On θηρίον in *Hum.*, see Demont 1999, 202. The Arabic translation is there translated into German by Overwien ‘von einem wilden Tier’ (Overwien 2014, 249, without comment upon this persistent polysemy although he translates the Greek: ‘ein böartige Geschwür’, 161). On a θηρίον coming from an ἔλκος, see esp. *De locis in homine* 29.

²⁷ Not quoted by Jouanna 1988b. ‘... seems to be a technical term for helminths’ (Lonie 1981 *ad loc.*, quoting *Epid.* 6. 7. 2 with Galen’s commentary).

²⁸ Jouanna 1988b, 347–352 (without certainty: he would like to ‘contribuer à rouvrir’ the debate).

long history.²⁹ And this punishment from the gods is one of the physical means they use to keep a balance in the world.³⁰

4 An exceptional plague

Another Herodotean disease is quite extraordinary, and very different from Hippocratic descriptions. I would like to come again to a point that is well known, and add some qualifications to the usual way of understanding it, by focusing on the Herodotean narrative of one exceptional plague. It has long been recognized that Herodotus and the Hippocratics stress in a similar way the importance of *metabolai* as main causes of disease – changes in seasons, and changes in regimen. The two clearest Herodotean occurrences concern the Egyptians and Xerxes' army.³¹

For three consecutive days in every month they [the Egyptians] purge themselves, pursuing health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think that it is from the food they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the explanation of which, in my opinion, is that the climate in all seasons is the same: for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons (ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα)

Herodotus 2.77.2–6 (transl. Godley)

²⁹ Cf. Ambroise Paré's observations about the 'ulcères vermineux' ('quelquesfois es ulceres il s'engendre des vers', *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 2, ed. J. F. Malgloire, Paris, 1840, 253). Such evolution may come from 'une disposition vermineuse des humeurs' (P. Hévin, *Cours de pathologie et de thérapeutique chirurgicales*, Paris, 1785, 727). 'The verminous ulcers produce animalcules, or worms' (J. Reeves, *The Art of Farriery, both in theory and practice*, Salisbury, 1763, 315). Another disease is named after a worm that gnaws on the bones: *τερηδών*, 'wood worm' and 'caries of the bone' (Morb. 2.7 and 24, cf. Grmek 1983, 193, who asks: 'cette appellation imagée est-elle due simplement à une analogie morphologique entre l'os carié et le bois vermoulu ou représente-t-elle l'expression fossile d'une théorie étiologique très ancienne?' The comparison with *θηρίον* would favour this last answer).

³⁰ For another physical means in the animal world, also horrible, and also linked to a (different) question of *τιμωρία*, see 3.108–109 (with Demont 1995).

³¹ Demont 1988, Thomas 2000, 37–40 (with further references), and, on a possible first example in Homer, *Iliad* 22.25–31, Grmek 1983, 44.

Then by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water (ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες) which they [Xerxes' soldiers] drank, many of the army that had survived died.

Herodotus 8.117.2 (transl. Godley)

In the first case the sentence quoted by the narrator is very similar to the aphorism beginning the third section of the *Aphorisms* (3.1), and the narrative suggests a hierarchy. There may have been, about Egypt, as Thomas writes, 'a debate (...) to which Herodotus evidently felt he could contribute'.³² The Egyptians think that diet is the first cause of diseases, but Herodotus stresses the importance of the seasons. The second text shows that in other contexts he also recognizes the importance of diet. Hippocratic texts of course have both factors, e.g. *Airs, Waters, Places* and *Epidemics* seasons and *Ancient Medicine* diet. It is difficult to know whether the very general recognition of the links between the change of seasons, regimen, and health is specifically Hippocratic and medical, or common and popular knowledge (perhaps even in Egypt).³³ Whatever is right, I would like to stress a peculiarity of Herodotus' narrative when linking disease and changes in diet in the case of one extraordinary plague.

Before coming to this disease, let us have a brief look at the Herodotean description of plagues, because it is quite different from what we find in the Hippocratics. There are very few references to plagues (λοιμοί) in the Hippocratic corpus. They are explained with reference to the notion of 'common disease', a notion that is explicit in *Airs, Waters, Places* 2 (νοσήματα ... πάγκοινα), and also in *Nature of Man* (9), *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (2), and *Breaths* (6, where this kind of common fever is even labelled πολύκοινος, 'very common', in the *Parisinus gr.* 2253). Doctors explain that this kind of common fever, as opposed to individual fevers, must be explained by a common cause, i.e. the air, and more specifically (in *Breaths* 6), by the miasmas (μιάσματα) which are in the air, and are inhaled by a large number of people.³⁴ So *Breaths* offers a remarkable rationalisation of the religious doctrine that pollution could infect a whole city after

32 Thomas 2000, 38. See also Althoff 1993, 15 concluding that there was an 'Atmosphäre intensiver Forschung, in der eine Reihe medizinischer und ethnologischer Fragestellungen und Antworten gewissermaßen in der Luft lag'.

33 For a possible and interesting Homeric (or epic) first hint of such views, cf. Grmek 1983, 65–66 (quoting Robert on Homer, *Od.* 22.31).

34 See also *Anonymus Londinensis, De Medicina* 7.17–26 (p. 15 Manetti), where 'Hippocrates' is quoted concerning such theories, and Jouanna's excellent discussion of this reference (1988a, 39–48).

crimes and offences. Herodotus' descriptions of plagues do not have anything similar.

When they returned from Troy, they [the Cretans] and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and plague... (λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμὸν).

Herodotus 7.171 (transl. Godley)

It is common for some sign to be given when great ills threaten cities or nations; for before all this, plain signs had been sent to the Chians. Of a band of a hundred youths whom they had sent to Delphi only two returned, ninety-eight being caught and carried off by plague.

Herodotus 6.27.1–3 (transl. Godley)

Here plagues are sent by the gods. In the first example, in which there are a series of secondary narrators, the Delphic oracle recalls the way Crete has been punished after having taken part in the war against Troy: they should not commit the same error twice, and so 'the priestess ... prevented them from aiding the Greeks as they previously inclined'. The second example, from the primary narrator, is explicit in linking divine will to the plague. Moreover, the secondary narrators of the first occurrence draw upon a traditional link between famine and plague (λοιμός / λιμός) that does not occur at all in the Hippocratic corpus, but is frequent in oracles.³⁵ Although the religious causation is plain, it should be noted that Herodotus makes no mention of a religious pollution by 'miasmas': the word μιάσμα does not even appear in his work. Of course there is accordingly no hint of a rationalisation similar to Hippocratic *Breaths*.

Let us now come to the third occurrence of a *loimos*, during the awful return of the Persian army after Xerxes' disaster (in the version of the event that Herodotus sees as the right one, 8.118–9). In a way this is similar to the two first examples of plague, in another way it suggests a rational explanation for the plague similar to Hippocratic texts concerning *metabolē*, and I would also like to stress the differences.

Wherever and to whatever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce. If they found none, they would eat the grass of the field and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of

³⁵ On the linguistic link between the two words *limos* and *loimos*, see Lamberterie 2005, on their association in oracles, Demont 1990. The link between famine and 'plagues' (i.e. epidemics) is not only linguistic, it is a well known phenomenon in history (e.g. H. Neveux, *Histoire de la France urbaine*, vol. 3. *La ville classique*, sous la direction de G. Duby, Paris, Seuil, 1981 on the 'complexe disette-épidémie'). In my opinion it should also be noticed in Thucydides 1.23 (Demont 2013).

the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing—such was the degree of their starvation. Moreover, plague and dysentery broke out among them on their way, from which they died (ταῦτα δ' ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερὴ κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε).

Herodotus 8.115.2–3 (transl. Godley)

First of all, the reader cannot fail to note again the traditional link between *limos* and *loimos*, 'famine' and 'plague'. In an unexpected way the primary narrator makes Artabanus' prediction (7.49) come true: 'the increase of your territory and the time passed in getting it will breed famine', a prediction which was itself a rationalisation of an earlier, famous religious prediction.³⁶ And starvation is then followed by a plague. But the link between the two is now put in the background by the primary narrator, as *limos* here may seem to be separated from *loimos* (especially in Godley's translation, but his 'Moreover', which translates δέ, is perhaps too strong; I would like to translate: 'Plague and dysentery swept through the army, and destroyed it on the road'). *Limos* is here the last consequence, before *loimos*, of a change in diet which forced men to eat even 'wild' leaves. This explains why soldiers fell ill, if we read a famous passage in *Ancient Medicine* in which the doctor explains that the people would now be severely ill if they were forced to eat animal food, as humans did in earlier days, before the invention of the first medicine, the 'ancient medicine':

To trace the matter yet further back, I hold that not even the mode of living and nourishment enjoyed at the present time by men in health would have been discovered, had a man been satisfied with the same food and drink as satisfy an ox, a horse, and every animal save man, for example the products of the earth – fruits, wood and grass. For on these they are nourished, grow, and live without pain, having no need at all of any other kind of living. Yet I am of opinion that to begin with man also used this sort of nourishment. Our present ways of living have, I think, been discovered and elaborated during a long period of time. For because many and terrible were the sufferings of men from strong and brutish living when they partook of crude foods, uncompounded and possessing great powers – the same in fact as men would suffer at the present day, falling into violent pains and diseases quickly followed by death (...)

Ancient Medicine 3 (transl. Jones slightly modified in line with Jouanna's text)

What would be the 'violent pains and diseases, quickly followed by death' of such men? The medical writer of *Ancient Medicine* does not call it *loimos*. Herodotus

³⁶ 7.10ε: 'A large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride in none but himself.'

does, and goes on to suggest a phenomenon similar to the two other plagues that he describes, but with the limitation that *loimos* is immediately glossed by δυσεντερία, which is a far more technical term and a far more Hippocratic disease.³⁷ Thus his narrative here inserts the traditional link *limos* / *loimos* in a rational time series: wild food and *limos*, then *loimos*, and dysentery and death (and then new diseases and deaths, when the surviving soldiers come to a town where they were able to eat and drink copiously, but from unusual water: see the text previously cited on μεταβολή).

For such observers of medicine as Herodotus there is no contradiction between rational analysis and religious explanation. A surprising passage in the first chapter of Hippocratic *Prognostic* has been widely discussed: when arriving at a patient, the doctor should know ‘if there is anything divine in the diseases’.³⁸ For Herodotus it seems that there could be a religious explanation coexisting alongside a rational one, and that he considers it his task to describe the two levels. The reason is that ‘the divine’ knows how to use rational processes in order to reach their goals. Herodotus is explicit about this in 3.108, in a context where Thomas has pointed out several Hippocratic echoes; the primary narrator explains that τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ πρόνοιη about the balance of the natural world is σοφή, and adds that to say this is a reasonable assumption.³⁹

Somehow the forethought of God (just as is reasonable) being wise has made all creatures prolific that are timid and edible, so that they do not become extinct through being eaten, whereas few young are born to hardy and vexatious creatures.

Herodotus 3.108.2, transl. Godley

That is why a rational explanation can be inserted into a deeply religious story, as is also the case with Croesus’s child (1.85). Moreover, while linking starvation to plague, Herodotus gives us another example of medical reasoning that we do not find in the Hippocratic corpus, and helps us once more to bear in mind that

³⁷ There are 86 occurrences of this root in the *TLG*, but only 2 occurrences of λοιμός in the Hippocratic texts from the classical period. Thomas 2000, 39 also refers to *Morb.* 2.55. 2 (a disease called ἐρυσίπτελας).

³⁸ Perhaps the easiest way of understanding it is that, if a religious reason could be suspected, in this case the doctor should not interfere (Demont 2014). At all events, there is of course no cure in Herodotus when a religious reason is given.

³⁹ Thomas 2000, 139–149 on superfetation. See Demont 2011, 67–85 for an intertextual study of this text and Plato, *Prot.* 320d (my point being that Plato plays on Herodotus: although both use genetics, contrary to the divine wisdom in Herodotus, Epimetheus is not that clever, as he forgot humanity in his distribution).

this corpus, although the only one we now have, was not the entirety of classical medicine.⁴⁰

5 Madness and the ‘sacred disease’

Madness is another disease that Herodotus describes by linking religion and science in a way that is not Hippocratic.⁴¹ It is a disease (μανία νοῦσος, 6.75.1, cf. νοσέοντι 3.76.2) which is described with the same vocabulary in its two occurrences and is mainly characterised by anger and violence, implying the loss of self-control. Both Xerxes and Cleomenes are already described as mad before the full display of their madness (ὑπομαργότερος, οὐ φρενήρης, 3.25.2; 29.1; 30.1; 5.42.1; cf. 6.75.1). Herodotus tells his readers that Persians (in the case of Cambyses, 3.34.2–3), and Spartans (in the case of Cleomenes, 6.84), think that too much wine (or too much undiluted wine) is responsible for it – an un-Hippocratic explanation, with which he does not seem to agree. Regarding Cambyses, the Egyptians say that he went mad ‘immediately’ after having wounded their bull-God Apis in the thigh (3.30.1), but Herodotus adds that he had lost his sanity prior to this occasion (ἔων οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης, *ibid.*), and that this explains why he killed Apis.⁴²

There are major differences between the two kings. Cleomenes’ madness leads him to a horrible self-mutilation (a θῶμα that has no direct parallel either in the Hippocratics or in tragic cases of madness), that was the cause of his death (6.75), a punishment for what he has done to Demaratus (6.84.3): god once more using φύσις to enforce divine justice. Cambyses’ madness is a far more complex case. It is attested neither in Persian nor in Egyptian sources, nor in Ctesias, and Plato’s narrative is quite different.⁴³ Moreover his madness did not last until the

⁴⁰ It is known from Diodorus and Plutarch that such an explanation had been given for the Athenian plague, and there are also some hints of it in Thucydides’ narrative, although its aim is to lead the reader far away from this interpretation, which made Pericles responsible for the disease (Demont 2013).

⁴¹ ‘Erodoto non sa decidersi fra l’interpretazione teleologica e l’interpretazione scientifica’ (Asheri 1990 *ad* 3.33, on Cambyses’ madness).

⁴² He nevertheless tells his story as if the Egyptians were right: Apis’ death seems to begin a new process (καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ..., 3.30.1).

⁴³ No mention of it either in the Behistun inscription or in Egyptian sources (Asheri 1990, 230), or in Ctesias. Plato speaks of μωρία, resulting from both a bad education and drunkenness (*Lg.* 3.695b2–7).

end: he died from a wound that caused him to recover his sanity (3.64.5, 66). Herodotus' description *must* then prove the very reality of his previous madness by identifying it with his violence against all customs and laws (3.38) – a focus not present in Cleomenes' madness. Far from any medical description, madness here 'effectively circumscribes the prerogatives of society, culture, and tradition'.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, in the middle of this narrative, between his acts of madness against his relatives and those against the Persians, Herodotus ventures to suggest medical causes of this violent madness in a famous passage:

ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκησιτάτους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἴαπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν. καὶ γάρ τινα καὶ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱερὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινες· οὐ νῦν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.

Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call sacred. It is not unlikely then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

Herodotus 3.33 (transl. Godley)

Thomas rightly stresses the similarity with Hippocrates' description of the so-called 'sacred disease' regarding the congenital (ἐκ γενεῆς) character of the disease, and thinks that the qualification 'which some call sacred' alludes to a heated controversy in *Sacred Disease* about the responsibility of the divine for this disease.⁴⁵ One could add first that there are not one, but *several* standard names for epilepsy. 'The sacred disease' and 'the so-called sacred disease' (τὰ ἱερὰ νοσεύματα καλεόμενα, ἢ ἱερὴ νοῦσος καλεομένη) are two of these. As Jouanna notes concerning the 'so-called' formulation, 'une telle formulation est d'abord une façon de souligner que l'expression est consacrée dans l'usage technique de la prose médicale'. So, even if this name is explicitly criticised in *Sacred Disease*, and even if 'la plupart des médecins de la *Collection hippocratique*' use

⁴⁴ Selden 1999, 50.

⁴⁵ Thomas 2000, 34–35 compares 4.23.3 on the baldness of the Argippaei ἐκ γενεῆς, and translates: 'by heredity' and comments: '“from birth” strongly implies heredity in any case, (...) but there seems no good reason to reject the literal meaning (...) “from the family”, i.e. “by inheritance”'. Note von Staden's qualifications about the meaning of ἐκ γενεῆς, which he understands here as 'since the time of birth': 'it is, of course, possible that some Hippocratics – not unlike some contemporary speakers of English – failed to distinguish between “congenital” and “hereditary”' (1990, 95).

the ‘so-called’ formulation ‘pour prendre leurs distances par rapport à une formulation traditionnelle’,⁴⁶ it is not clear whether Herodotus’ use of it implies such criticism: there are examples of the ‘so-called’ formulation without any criticism.⁴⁷ Secondly, as Jouanna notes in his Budé edition (without quoting our text), there are other ways of naming this disease, among them ἡ μεγάλη νοῦσος or τὸ μέγα νόσημα, ‘the great disease’,⁴⁸ a term here used twice by Herodotus. Perhaps one should then understand Herodotus’ text in this way: ‘for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his family with a “great disease”, which some people call “sacred”’. Thus Herodotus would have provided two different names in order very precisely to link Cambyse’s madness to this specific disease. His last observation, again with the name ‘great disease’ (and, in my opinion, with this same meaning), also deserves attention. I would suggest this translation: ‘It is not unlikely then that when his body was afflicted by a “great disease” his mind (τὰς φρένας) too should be diseased. Herodotus explicitly distinguishes the original disease (a ‘great disease’, a ‘so-called sacred disease’) and its consequences (the madness). The disease is described as a bodily disease, from which would probably come an alteration of the φρένες; this is a very different picture from *Morb. sac.*, which *never* alludes to madness, and regarding the so-called sacred disease *explicitly* criticises any reference to two badly chosen words, φρένες, and θυμός (it explains at length that the ἐγκέφαλος is the only real origin of our thought, and that too much phlegm in it is the reason for the so-called sacred disease – a point that does not occur at all in Herodotus).⁴⁹ In his narrative, in accordance with the usual way of speaking,⁵⁰ Herodotus refers to θυμός and φρένες (1.5: μεγάλως θυμωθέντα, 25.2: οἷα ἐμάνης καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, 32.4: θυμωθέντα, 34.3: θυμωθέντα ... παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα, 61.1: παραφρονήσαντι). And it is this very vocabulary that allows him to report Cambyse’s final recovery of his σωφροσύνη in the second part of his fate, that completes his tragic destiny (64.5: ἐσωφρόνησε, i.e. ‘he recovered his φρένες’),⁵¹ just before he died from his

⁴⁶ Jouanna 2003, XXIV-XXV.

⁴⁷ Esp. Plato, *Lg.* 11.916a6 and b4. Jouanna (*ibid.* n.34) notes that in the manuscripts of *Prorrh.* 2, one also reads once ‘the sacred disease’ and once ‘the so-called sacred disease’. The two formulations seem to be similar.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* XXV n.37 (*Epid.* 2.5.11, 6.2, *Epid.* 6.6.5, *Cris.* 44). Other names: ‘Heracles’ disease’ (*Mul.* 1.7), ‘the children’s disease’ (*Airs, Waters, Places* 3). This last name may be related to the fact that the disease was thought to be congenital or hereditary, and would show that the very phrase ἐκ γενεῆς in Herodotus is not necessarily related to Hippocratic debates.

⁴⁹ See c. 17 Jouanna = c. 20 Jones.

⁵⁰ Mattes 1970, 103–108.

⁵¹ Saïd 2002. This recovery contrasts with the tragic errors that he made before (3.35.2).

wounded thigh, echoing Apis' wound and death. While mentioning the sacred disease allows Herodotus to suggest a medical diagnosis regarding the *origin* of madness that we do not find in Hippocrates, his *description* of madness remains traditional, except that his point is more the reversal of *nomos* than the description of symptoms (in the case of Cambyses), and the horrible wonder of self-mutilation (in the case of Cleomenes).

6 Health

Let us now make a few remarks on health. In the Hippocratic corpus regimen health is of course mostly described as pertaining to an individual, or linked to a time and/or place. This in turn justifies the need for a precisely balanced programme linked to individual constitutions, in order that the doctor's cure be effective. In Herodotus, diet is always common to a whole country or a whole group of people, and there is usually no consideration of effects or environmental conditions, except for the parts of the world that are in best health, as for example Egypt and Libya, and in the exceptional case of the Persian plague that we have just read: it seems that nearly every kind of diet is possible among humans, even raw meat⁵² or raw fish, because diet is part of the *nomoi* which are 'king' in each country notwithstanding individual particularities (3.38). No one, he tells us in this famous passage, should dare to make fun of these *nomoi*. His search for collective wonders of course explains this stance, and also a specific focalisation, by which the authority of the narrator is here associated with Pindar's statement on νόμος βασιλεύς. In most cases it involves an evident difference between the point of view of a doctor and that of Herodotus.⁵³

52 'In Erodoto mangiano carni crude non solo i selvaggi (1.202.3, 3.99.1) ma anche i civilissimi Egiziani' (Asheri, *ad* 3.99). Descriptions of strange regimes without any impact on health contrast with the focus on savage food eaten by Xerxes' army when coming back to Persia and the diseases that it involved.

53 There is an exception in the Hippocratic corpus, the description of the Scythian regimen in *Airs, Waters, Places*. The comparison with Herodotean description of mare's milk cheese (ἱππᾶκη) has been well described by Thomas: 'Perhaps what we are seeing are two faces of the same coin. The Hippocratic writer's use of Scythian ethnography seems to be part of a wider use of ethnography on the part of certain medical writers. Herodotus gives us another angle on the Scythian mare's milk, but reflects similar assumptions about the movement of the matter [i.e. the way milk can move in the female body] in strikingly Hippocratic form' (Thomas 2000, 61). There is nothing about the implication of such milk for health either in Herodotus or in Hippocrates, and the assumptions about milk and the vessels in the body may be popular knowledge.

But there are two specific instances of similarities that also involve differences, one in Libya, the other in Persia.

Let us begin with Libyans and the explanation for their celebrated good health (2.77.3). It is one example of the effect on health of the collective way of life, at least if the Libyans' own testimony is to be trusted.

οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἑπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἰσὺν προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοις, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὥς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὧν εἰσὶ. ἦν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδιά σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξέύρηται σφὶ ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὖρον ἐπισπείσαντες ῥύονται σφεα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot say absolutely whether it is the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples with grease of sheep's wool, so that the children may never afterward be afflicted by phlegm draining from the head. They say that this makes their children quite healthy. In fact, the Libyans are the healthiest of all men whom we know; whether it is because of this practice, I cannot say absolutely; but they certainly are healthy. When the children smart from the pain of the burning, the Libyans have found a remedy; they soothe them by applications of goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say

Herodotus 4.187.2–3 (transl. Godley)

As Thomas very well wrote, 'Herodotus' remarks express the type of preoccupation with phlegm that is to be found in early medical writing – and also a solution, cauterisation, that is attributed in another work, *Airs*, to Scythians. Herodotus' text also provides, on conventional dating, the earliest case of phlegm appearing as a humour'.⁵⁴ She also underlines the existence of controversies about Libyan health among Greek doctors: was it due to the dryness and heat of the country?⁵⁵ Does Herodotus add another reason, namely the practice of cauterisation? For this practice Althoff quotes an important parallel from modern Northern Africa,⁵⁶ which suggests 'Volkmedizin' not necessarily coming from Greece: 'Tous les enfants portent sur le crâne des cicatrices par le fer rouge, qui remplace aujourd'hui

It seems that we are faced with two perhaps related explanations for a well-known Scythian wonder.

⁵⁴ Thomas 2000, 36.

⁵⁵ Thomas 2000, 45–48.

⁵⁶ Althoff 1993, 9–10.

[i.e. in 1884] les moxas de laine de mouton. La cautérisation, du reste, forme le fond de la médication indigène'. This kind of treatment is not a modern peculiarity. The anthropologist Luc Renaut has recently compared the tattoos worn by Ötzi, a late Neolithic man discovered in 1991 in a small glacier of the Southeast Alps, near the Italo-Austrian border, to our Herodotean text, and he also refers to one Hippocratic text from *Diseases* Book 2 that I am going to quote.⁵⁷ As a matter of fact, to this popular medicine Herodotus adds the mention of phlegm, one of the most important humours for Hippocratics, and for them also cauterisation is a most important remedy against φλέγμα. But there is a controversy about the meaning of φλέγμα in the Hippocratic corpus, and especially in *Diseases* Book 2. This book is very curiously written: one part explains the same diseases twice, once with an aetiology but without a therapy, once without an aetiology but with a therapy. Jouanna has shown that the two descriptions come from a common model, perhaps from the middle of the 5th century, which he labelled 'Cnidian'.⁵⁸ In the first part, with an aetiology but without a therapy, in which the humours, and even black bile, are well known, the humour called phlegm is very often given as the main cause of diseases. I quote here the first description of the first disease, which is described twice:⁵⁹

οὐρεῖται πολλὸν ὅταν ὑπερθερμανθῇ ἡ κεφαλὴ· τήκεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φλέγμα· τηκόμενον δὲ χωρεῖ τὸ μὲν ἐς τὰς ῥίνας, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸ στόμα, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν φλεβῶν αἱ ἄγουσιν ἐς τὸ αἰδοῖον· ὅταν δ' ἐς τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀφίκηται, οὐρεῖ καὶ πάσχει οἷά περ ὑπὸ στραγγουρίας.

When the head becomes overheated, much urine is passed; for the phlegm in it melts, and, as it melts, it goes partly to the nostrils, partly to the mouth, and partly through the vessels that lead to the genital organs. When it arrives in the genital organs, the patient urinates, and suffers the symptoms of strangury.

Diseases 2.1 (transl. Potter, Jouanna's text)

In the second description, with therapy, φλέγμα usually does not, according to Jouanna, mean 'phlegm' but 'inflammation', which is in keeping with its older meaning 'fire', and, according to him, this shows that the second descriptions are

⁵⁷ Renaut 2004, especially 93.

⁵⁸ Jouanna 2009; see also Jouanna 1983.

⁵⁹ Other examples: 'Angina arises when phlegm that has been set in motion in the head flows downward in a large mass' (9), 'staphylitis occurs when phlegm descends out of the head into the uvula, and it hangs down and becomes red' (10), 'the tonsils, the area beneath the tongue, the gums, the tongue, and other such structures growing in the region all become ill as the result of phlegm that comes down from the head. First, the head draws phlegm out of the body; it does it on becoming heated, and it becomes heated from foods, drinks, sun, cold, exertions and fire' (*Diseases* 2.11).

older than the first. As a matter of fact, in the first part of *Diseases* Book 2 diseases come from the fact that phlegm is heated in the head, so that it is understandable on the one hand that this cold humour may be responsible for an inflammation, on the other hand that φλέγμα may even mean ‘an inflammation’.⁶⁰ Whatever may be the chronological relationship between the two meanings of the word, there is, *concerning the same disease*, in the part with therapy (the older one according to Jouanna) an interesting indication about what should be done. Here is first the beginning of the description, then a therapy to be applied if the disease recurs after a long time:

νοῦσοι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν· νάρκα ἴσχει τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ οὐρεῖ θαμινὰ καὶ τᾶλλα πάσχει ἅπερ ὑπὸ στραγγουρίης. (...) ἦν δὲ ὑποστρέψει ἢ νοῦσος, πυριήσας αὐτὸν ὅλον, ἐς αὔριον δοῦναι ἐλλέβορον πιεῖν· κᾶπειτα διαλείπειν ὅποσον ἂν σοι δοκῇ χρόνον, καὶ τότε τὴν κεφαλὴν καθήρας, κατωτερικὸν δούς φάρμακον, καῦσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐσχάρας ὀκτώ, δύο μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα, δύο δ’ ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, δύο δ’ ὅπισθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐν τῇ κοτίδι, δύο ἐν τῇ ῥινὶ παρὰ τοὺς κανθούς· τὰς φλέβας καίειν δὲ τὰς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἔστ’ ἂν παύσωνται σφύζουσαι· τοῖσι δὲ σιδηρίοισι σφηνίσκους ποιησάμενος, διακαίειν πλαγίας τὰς φλέβας. ταῦτα ποιήσαντι ὑγιεῖ ἐγγίνεται.

Diseases of the head: the head becomes numb, and the patient urinates frequently and suffers the rest of the symptoms of strangury. (...) [long description of first therapies]. If the disease recurs, apply a vapour-bath to the whole body and, on the morrow, give the patient hellebore to drink. Then, leaving whatever period of time you think correct, clean out the head, give a medication to act downwards, and burn eight eschars on the head: two beside the ears, two on the temples, two behind the head at different places on the occiput, and two on the nose by the corners of the eyes. Also burn the vessels beside the ears until they no longer throb; make the irons wedge-shaped, and cauterize across the oblique vessels. If a person does these things, he recovers.

Diseases 2.12 (transl. Potter, Jouanna's text)

One cannot help noticing a parallelism with Herodotus.⁶¹ The differences are clear: on the one hand Herodotus describes cauterisations that in many ancient rural societies were methods of traditional health care, even for children; on the other hand, in *Diseases* Book 2 it is a means of curing a disease that recurs after a long time, in case of emergency, and with a technicality which is wholly absent in the traditional therapy. The similarity is also clear: it is useful to cauterise the head in order to destroy the surplus of phlegm and to prevent this phlegm from flowing down in the body. By calling the potentially harmful substance ‘phlegm’

⁶⁰ See also Lonie 1981, 277–279.

⁶¹ Jouanna 1983, 225.

Herodotus (and his source) reads a Libyan custom through a quasi-Hippocratic lens, able to recognise a modern therapy in a traditional one.⁶²

The second and last text on health I shall comment is about dinner in Persia and Greece. It has been recently studied by Jouanna in a paper about the notion of diet.⁶³ I agree with his way of understanding the Greek, which I sum up here, and shall try to add a new element.

σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασι Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον, εἰ δὲ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.

Herodotus 1.133.2

The usual translation of this text is: ‘Their courses are few, the dainties that follow many, and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of Greeks that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to Greeks (the Persians say) they would never stop eating’ (Godley). But there are two ways of understanding the syntax of the verb παύεσθαι: with σιτεομένους (as in all recent translations) or of course with πεινῶντας, which seems to be more natural. Jouanna points out that σιτεομένους resumes the previous σίτοισι ... χρέωνται, and stresses the difference between the Persians and the Greeks regarding courses on the one hand and desserts and the other hand. His translation, then, is:⁶⁴

Ils mangent un petit nombre de plats, mais un grand nombre de desserts qui ne sont pas tous servis en même temps. Et c’est pourquoi les Perses disent que les Grecs, quand ils mangent leurs plats, cessent seulement d’avoir faim, parce qu’il ne leur est servi après leur dîner aucun dessert qui soit appréciable; et que si on leur en servait, ils ne cesseraient pas de manger.

This is why the Persians say that the Greeks eat meals only to stave off hunger, because after the meal they do not have any substantial dessert, and if it were given to the Greeks, they would never stop eating.

Jouanna explains the Persian point of view as follows: ‘the implicit idea that leads the Persians to judge their diet to be superior to that of the Greeks is the notion of pleasure: the Persians are gourmets who appreciate desserts, whilst the Greeks, according to them, are content with a diet that staves off hunger’. One may also note that the consequences of this possible change in diet for the Greeks are only

⁶² Demont 2009b, 144–148.

⁶³ Jouanna 2008.

⁶⁴ Jouanna 2012, 141–142.

described with a kind of ironical conclusion, ‘they would never stop eating’, and without any hint at the possible consequences for their health. It is this ironical hypothesis that leads to the usual translation of the beginning in recent editions, in order to add a further irony – in his and in my opinion, illogical and unnecessary. To whom do the Persians say this? Irony about the Greeks is a means of involving the Greek reader in the interpretation of what is written: the secondary narrator (the Persians) is now speaking to the reader. This passage could then be related to an important theme in Herodotus. Jouanna aptly contrasts the Greek (or more exactly the Spartan) point of view about regime that is expressed after the battle of Plataea, when Pausanias discovers the opulence of Persian banquets and laughs at the Persians’ madness (ἄρροσύνη): why did they try to conquer such a poor country as Greece, when they had such a splendid diet (διαίτα, 9.82)? We could also perhaps remember here Herodotus’ very strange last chapter (9.122). Thomas’ analysis stresses the ring composition with the first book and ‘a diachronic dimension that forbids over-emphasis on climate as a determinant’;⁶⁵ ‘the final chapter takes the audience right back to the days before the Persian empire’, when, Herodotus writes, ‘before they conquered the Lydians, the Persians had nothing either luxurious or good’ (1.71.4). The text that I am discussing may be added to her observations. The two different secondary narrators (Cyrus in the last chapter of book 9, ‘the Persians’ here) both make assumptions about what might happen to the Persians, or to the Greeks, if they were going to change their way of life. There is a telling contrast between them, the virtuous Persian before the conquest, that is King Cyrus, and ‘the Persians’ in the way they now live, after they conquered Lydia. As Munson suggests,⁶⁶ the primary narrator of course constructs such a contrast with a moral aim, for his Greek readers. The *text* implies a large *fabula*, extending to Herodotus’ time far beyond the *story*: is the Persians’ fate going to happen to the Greeks? Are they going to forget their poor but wise way of life?

7 Conclusion

This paper has tried to add or to qualify some parallelisms between Herodotus and the Hippocratic corpus, and to point out important differences between

⁶⁵ Thomas 2000, 106–108.

⁶⁶ Munson 2001, 156 (‘positioned precariously between contrast and similarity, the Greeks partially share in the strength and the vulnerability Herodotus’ ethnography attributes to the Persians from the time of their conquest of Asia to that of their defeat at Plataea’).

them, especially regarding plagues and madness. As a layman, but a layman embedded in the medicine of his time, Herodotus gives us access to pre-Hippocratic or un-Hippocratic views, and helps us to understand the compatibility of religious causation and rational explanation.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The English version of this paper has benefited from the help of Lex Paulson (Paris-Sorbonne) and from helpful suggestions by Ewen Bowie.

III. Historian

Christopher Pelling

Causes in competition: Herodotus and Hippocratics

1

Herodotus has a lot of explaining to do. The proem's promise of content is immensely broad, for the phrase τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, 'things that originate from humans', embraces not just the history of events but their ἔργα in a broader sense: what they have built, how they behave, what they believe, the stories they tell.¹ But even that rubric proves inadequate to the content that follows, as programmatic statements so often do: they are first bids, ones that can be renounced as the work goes on.² In Herodotus' case the revision makes his canvas even broader, as he will include various phenomena which belong to the world of nature rather than human 'doings': why the Nile floods, why Thessaly has the physical shape it does, why Scythian oxen have no horns, why the most lethal animals are the least fertile (2.20–7, 7.129–30, 4.28–9, 3.108–9). Conceivably these phenomena might be, or link with, the doings of gods, though Herodotus himself shows only intermittent commitment to seeing them that way;³ but they are certainly not γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Still, they are μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, in that second key phrase of the proem, even if no longer 'achieved partly by Greeks and partly by barbarians', and so the extension is still in much of the same spirit. What makes them θωμαστά, too, is not merely that these things happen and happened but also *why*.⁴ The proem signals that as well: the particular example on which the proem ends makes that clear – 'other things and the αἰτίη why they fought one another'. That too still focuses on human doings, understandably given the human focus of the sentence so far; but if the scope is to extend into nature as well, it would be odd if the quest for explanation did not extend too, and that is certainly what the text goes on to do.

Still, explaining things is tricky; to talk of a single αἰτίη, just one, may be trickier still; and it is still debated by philosophers and historiographic theorists

1 Immerwahr 1960; Drexler 1972, 28–39.

2 Gribble 1998, 57 makes a similar point about Thucydides' programmatic statement at 1.23.6.

3 Cf. esp. Romm 2006, 182–6.

4 Cf. Fowler 2006, 31–2; Bakker 2002, 13–14, 17–18.

whether causal explanation works in the same way in science and in history. Evidently some things are different. One can run a scientific experiment over again to check the same result, or alter a crucial variable to see what difference it makes. (At least one can some of the time: one cannot start the universe over again in a new way, and unless one is evil or insane one cannot unleash an interesting new virus on an unprotected population.) But one certainly cannot run ancient society over again without slavery to allow a better idea of its economic impact, nor erase the French revolution from the eighteenth century or impose a British revolution on the nineteenth. One can see why that makes historical causation so epistemologically puzzling. How can one possibly be sure how much the Treaty of Versailles contributed to the genesis of the Second World War twenty years later? Or how different Britain's religious history would have been if Catherine of Aragon had borne a son? Or how much difference a Great Man or Woman made, a Churchill or a Cleopatra? No wonder some theorists prefer to think in terms of 'narrative codes', fitting events into particular story-patterns that writers or their audiences are preconditioned into finding attractive. Yet this in turn risks reducing a historian's causal analysis to just a matter of arbitrary preference, not too far from deciding which of the alternative endings of *Casablanca* we find more pleasing, or whether the seventeenth century was right to prefer a happy ending to *King Lear*. It is surely not just a historian's self-regarding pride or fantasy to think that some causal analyses are better than others, and to find some non-aesthetic justification for such a preference. After all, we could hardly function in everyday life if we did not accept that a routine choice – ordering two pints of milk or one today – would have a regular consequence.

These are deep issues. So is the further question of how we find a way to defend a concept of historical causation without a further commitment to historical determinism: how can we 'explain' the outbreak of the First World War or the collapse of the old Soviet Union without also implying that the arrangement of the pieces could never have had any other outcome in 1914 or 1989, and that if only observers had been intelligent enough they would have known it in advance? After all, highly intelligent observers, far more in tune with their contemporary realities than later generations could ever hope to be, quite evidently could not foresee these outcomes with any certainty. How, then, can we have retrospective explicability without implying either inevitability or, a slightly different point, prospective predictability? This paper will occasionally lumber into such territory, but its theme is a more manageable one: how far does Herodotus approach historical and scientific explanation in the same way? How far does his text presume anything similar of his readers and listeners? Still, even that is far too broad to cover in a single paper. An adequate approach would embrace all

the ways, not just explicit analysis, in which Herodotus makes events intelligible; it would have to explore how far certain deep-seated assumptions are shared without always being articulated – the idea that some sort of balance between opposites is healthy for a body or a society, perhaps, or the trials that even a persuasive doctor or statesman has to confront if good advice is to be taken, or the variations of treatment that are called for by different types of physical or political constitution.⁵ Here I shall concentrate on just two aspects, and on those passages where the analysis is most explicit. The first will be that epistemological puzzle: how can one possibly know or test the truth of a causal hypothesis? That was a problem that David Hume wrestled with. The second issue moves (as it were) from Hume to John Stuart Mill, and considers what happens when multiple causes seem to be identifiable for the same phenomenon or event. What is the historian or the scientist to do when causes seem to be in competition?

All such questions have been made much more accessible since the publication in 2000 of Rosalind Thomas' *Herodotus in Context*, using the Hippocratic corpus, especially the works most securely datable to the fifth century, as a thought-provoking *comparandum*.⁶ Like her,⁷ I shall not be concerned here with questions of 'influence' but with 'affinities'; doubtless there was some interaction between the two intellectual domains, but it is a more a matter of ideas and approaches that were in the air, sometimes (as we will see) theorised but just as often unconsciously or subconsciously assumed. Thomas concentrates particularly on the geographical and ethnographical aspects of Herodotus' work. It is there, certainly, that the overlap with the interests of the Hippocratics is closest and clearest; here I shall be more concerned with the degree to which Herodotus applied the same intellectual tool-kit to the history of events, just as we were led to expect by that initial homing in on the greatest event of all, δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

5 For some tentative thoughts along such lines, see Pelling forthcoming a and b; cf. Swain, 1994, 307–8.

6 Thomas 2000. Important precursors were Ubsdell 1983; Lateiner 1986. This is not the place to discuss the intricate problems of dating of particular works. In her authoritative survey Craik 2015 gives the following as probable dates for the works mentioned here: *Airs Waters Places*, 'mid to late fifth century' (p. 11); *Ancient Medicine*, 'the final decades of the fifth century' (285); *On Breaths*, 'the final decades of the fifth century' (102); *Epid.* 1 and 3, 'around 410' (90–1); *Epid.* 2, 4, and 6, 'around 400' (90–91); *On Fleshes*, '450–400 BC' (48); *On the Nature of Man*, 'last decades of the fifth century' (212); *Regimen*, 'late fifth or early fourth century' (275); *On the Sacred Disease*, 'mid to late fifth century' (195).

7 Esp. Thomas 2000, 19–21: cf. 69 on the 'interaction of Herodotus with this wider milieu' of intellectual debate. Cf. Lateiner 1986, 2–3; Thomas 2006, 65–6; Hornblower 1987, ch. 5, esp. 131–5.

2

When historians present causes they often fail to ‘put in their working’ in the way that generations of schoolchildren have been taught to do when solving mathematical problems. Thucydides just states bluntly what ‘the truest explanation’ for the war was, the way that the Athenians became great and by frightening the Spartans forced them towards war (1.23.6); he does not there state why he prefers this to alternative explanations – this was Pericles’ war, or the Spartans’ or Corinthians’ fault for overreacting, or all because of Megara – though his narrative often allows readers to work that out for themselves.⁸ The same is even true of that mightiest of figures in causal analysis, Hume himself. In his philosophical works he explored at length how, in his view, the mind notices a ‘constant conjunction’ of events and infers a causal connection that still ‘belongs entirely to the soul’. Yet when he turned to write the History for which the philosophy was merely a propaedeutic, he was still content to talk about causal connections that were out there, features of the world rather than his own soul:

But whether we are to account for that measure [William’s return to Normandy so soon after the conquest] from the king’s vanity or from his policy, it was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns, and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people...

Hume (1762) ch. IV

That national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive.

Hume (1762), ch. XLIX, Appendix

One reason for that lack of explicit ‘working’ is of course that the methodology is so extremely elusive, not least because ‘constant conjunctions’ are difficult to identify amidst history’s mass of singularities. In that first passage in particular Hume’s causal claim does not exactly radiate verifiability: how could he, or his readers, possibly be sure that this was the crucial factor? Even if one puts weight on that ‘immediate’, how can we know how it would have been if William had remained solidly in Westminster? The younger Hume might well have tartly told the older that such a ‘conjunction’ indeed belonged entirely to his own soul.

⁸ Below, p. 215.

Herodotus contrasts with Hume here, as there are times when he does let us see his working, both on scientific matters and on the history of events. Scientifically, there is the discussion of why the Nile floods (2.20–5), impressive in its logic even if it reaches the wrong conclusion. One explanation falls down on Hume's ground of 'constant conjunction' – the trade winds have sometimes failed to blow, but the Nile has still flooded – and also because it explains too much: if it were a matter of winds, then the same should be true of other rivers too. That is an example of what logicians call *modus tollendo tollens*⁹ or 'denying the consequent'. Another is rejected on grounds of verifiability; if someone, presumably Hecataeus, adduces 'Ocean-stream', he is just pushing the analysis into the unclear (ἐς ἄφανές, 2.23), and 'I at least do not know of any such stream'. A third just fails to accommodate the theory within the audience's pre-existing assumptions: to explain it in terms of melting snow ignores the way that it is flowing from the hottest regions to the cooler, and certain other pointers to melting snow are also absent. The explanation he does favour affords a better accommodation, relating it to the perceived trajectory of the sun (cf. 4.50.3–4). There are important analogies here with argumentative patterns in the Hippocratics; Thomas has analysed these powerfully,¹⁰ and I will say no more here.

Herodotus can put in his working when talking about historical events too, most famously at 7.139.

Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνῶμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δέ, τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιοῦμενοι βασιλεῖ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἡντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγένετο. εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλίσκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν· μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως· ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογῇ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν βασιλεὺς ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης.

νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τάληθεός· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο ἐλόμενοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλεῖα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι.

⁹ Thomas 2000, 183; for the Hippocratics' use of this form of argument cf. Lloyd 1979, 25, 27–8; Deichgräber 1971, 122.

¹⁰ Thomas 2000, 136 and ch. 6, esp. 182–5; 2006, 63–4. See also Corcella 1984, 77–81.

οὐδέ σφραγιστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

At this point I feel impelled to express an opinion that I am not going to keep to myself, despite the fact that it will offend a great many people, because I believe it to be true. If the Athenians had taken fright at the danger that was bearing down on them and had abandoned their country, or if they had stayed put where they were and had surrendered to Xerxes, no one would have tried to resist Xerxes at sea. What would have happened on land, then? Even if the Peloponnesians had built wall after defensive wall across the Isthmus, the Lacedaemonians would still have been let down by their allies, not out of deliberate treachery, but because they would have had no choice, in the sense that they would have fallen one by one to the Persian fleet. So the Lacedaemonians would have been left all alone, and in that situation they would have fought bravely and well – and died nobly. Or an alternative scenario, instead of this one, is that before matters went this far they would have seen that the rest of Greece was collaborating with the Persians and so they would have come to terms with Xerxes. But in either case Greece would have come under Persian rule, because I cannot see what good defensive walls built across the Isthmus would have done with Xerxes controlling the sea.

As things are, however, anyone who claims that the Athenians became the saviours of Greece would be perfectly correct, because the scales were bound to tilt in favour of whichever side Athens joined. Once they had decided that their preference was for Greece to remain free, it was they who aroused the whole of the rest of Greece (except those places which were already collaborating with the Persians) and, second only to the gods, repelled the king's advance. Not even the fearsome and alarming oracles that came from Delphi persuaded them to abandon Greece; they held firm and found the courage to withstand the invader of their country.

(Hdt. 7.139, tr. Waterfield, mildly adapted)

There is a good deal going on in that passage beyond the surface analysis: hints of the Athenian imperial future, for that is the reason why saying such things will 'offend a great many people'; a refusal to buy into the familiar tropes of Athenian 'finest hour' or 'beacon of freedom' rhetoric, for if the Athenians saved Greece it was simply because they did not run away when they might so easily have done; the insinuation of themes that will be valuable for the rest of Herodotus' narrative – the perpetual danger of Greek fragmentation, the understandability of Medism, the vulnerability of the Peloponnese to sea power.¹¹ As so often, the richest explanatory passages explain a good deal more than the single context in which they figure.

Still, let us stay for the moment with the surface argument. Herodotus knows that virtual history matters, that indeed one cannot analyse historical causes without it. To say that $p \rightarrow q$ implies that if p had not happened q would not (in

¹¹ Pelling 2013a, 13–16.

the case of necessary causes) or might not (in sufficient causes) have happened either, and that involves counterfactual speculation.¹² It also of course raises questions of verification. How can one know what would or would not have happened anyway, any more than Hume could know what would have happened if William had stayed in London? The answer is often ‘common sense’,¹³ but common sense often needs to be reinforced; after all, common sense did not stop the Spartans in 480 and 479 from putting so much weight on the value of an Isthmus wall. Herodotus’ argument here would seem much more cogent to readers and listeners in (say) the 420s because of their knowledge of what had happened since. They would be familiar with what a massive fleet could achieve through their experience of the Athenian empire; by the early 420s they would have seen the effect of the seaborne attacks on the Peloponnese (Thuc. 2.17.4, 23.2, 25, 30, 56);¹⁴ if Herodotus were still writing and reciting in the later 420s, they would know the more dramatic impact of Demosthenes’ and Cleon’s successes at Pylos (Thuc. 4.1–41). Accommodation within an audience’s conceptual scheme is always easier when it relates to further events within their own experience, for as Aristotle so sagely observed, ‘it is clear that what has happened is possible, for if it were impossible it would not have happened’ (*Poetics* 9. 1451b17–19). We are not too far here from Hume’s ‘constant conjunction’ of events. That is what would have happened, because it always, or at least so often, does.

Similar appeals to experience are sometimes explicit in the Hippocratics. *Ancient Medicine* calls on the readers’ memories of what it is like to have a cold or drink fluids (18 I.p.46 J. = I.p.614 L., 22 I.pp.56–8 J. = I.p.626 L.),¹⁵ and *On the Sacred Disease* appeals to their experience of numbness in the extremities when the

12 Just as, for Herodotus, causal analysis of the physical world involves counterfactual speculation: cf. 2.11.4, 26.2; Lateiner 1986, 14. In those cases, however, it plays a rather different part in the argument, drawing out in a striking way the implications of a conclusion reached on other grounds. In the history of events a counterpart would be 8.30.2: if the Thessalians had opposed Xerxes the Phocians would have Medised. On the counterfactual component in 7.139, see esp. Baragwanath 2008, 227–8 and 236, observing the stress on what the Athenians might have done but did not.

13 Cf. Hart/Honoré 1985, 10: ‘Their characteristic concern [i.e. that of the causal statements typical of lawyers and historians] ... is often to *apply* generalizations that are already known or accepted as true and even platitudinous to particular concrete cases.’

14 Cawkwell 1975, 54, 69–70; cf. Hornblower 1991, 328–9 on 2.56.1.

15 Citations from the Hippocratics give first the Loeb and then the Littré reference, identifying in each case the volume number.

circulation is cut off (7 II.p.154 J. = 4 VI.p.368 L.).¹⁶ But there is also a more elaborate theorising of the way that one can test explanatory hypotheses by accumulating and investigating similar sequences. In Book 6 of the *Epidemics* the methodology is made explicit:

The essential point comes from the diseases' origins and departures. One summarises as many cases as possible and one's painstaking analyses of these cases, and discovers whether they are like one another; and one also analyses the dissimilarities, to see if there are patterns of similarity even among the dissimilarities so that they can be reduced to a single similarity. That is the way of verifying what is correct and exposing what is wrong.

(*Epidemics* 6.3.12 VII.pp.238–40 = V.p.298 L.)

There are again interesting points there both of contact and of contrast with Hume: 'one summarises as many cases as possible and discovers whether they are like one another' is similar to Hume's 'constant conjunction', but 'origins and departures' puts weight on simultaneity of cause and symptom as opposed to Hume's stress on antecedents.¹⁷

We can see similar epistemological thoughtfulness elsewhere. One of the earliest texts, *On Ancient Medicine*, has an interesting and elaborate discussion of the problems of distinguishing causal and contingent factors (17–19 I.pp.42–52 J. = I.pp.612–20 L.).¹⁸ Too many jump to causal conclusions if the patient has done anything unusual around the day of his illness, taking a bath or a walk or eating strange food.¹⁹ What they need is a more firmly based understanding of the effects of a badly-timed bath. That is once more built up by an accumulation of cases, as the observer notices which factors (such as badly timed baths) recur in similar cases and which do not. If a person accustomed to taking lunch is deprived of it, he or she will suffer certain symptoms: the causal link is established by the observation that *all* lunch-takers suffer similarly in similar circumstances (10–11 I.pp.30–2 J. = I.pp.592–4 L.).

16 A more elaborate version of the same technique is seen in *On the Sacred Disease* when it gives an impressive but wholly familiar list of the symptoms in the course of its theorising (e.g. 10 II.pp.158–60 J. = 7 VI.pp.372–4 L.). What verifies the theory is the way in which the familiar symptoms fit so well into that model – or so the author claims.

17 Such questions of antecedence or simultaneity have been of interest to philosophers: Kant for instance used the example of laying a ball on a cushion and causing a hollow, puzzling about the special case where there may have been a pre-existing hollow. Cf. Mackie 1974, 109, 161.

18 Cf. Schiefky 2005, 288: 'arguably the most sophisticated statement about causation to be found anywhere in the Hippocratic Corpus'. Cf. Lloyd 1979, 53–4.

19 Cf. *Regimen* 3.70 IV.p.384 J. = VI.p.606 L., *patients* often unjustly blame whatever they were doing at the time the illness struck. There too the implication is that adequate medical experience enables one to distinguish coincidence from cause.

A similar sort of accumulative technique is seen in the *Epidemics*, as the authors build up recurrent clusters of symptoms: thus an author notes that victims never suffered group *B* of symptoms without also suffering group *A*, but often suffered group *A* without suffering group *B* (*Epid.* 1.10 I.p.162 J. = 1.4 II.p.630 L., cf. 6.7.1 VII p.272 S. = V.p.336 L.). Similarly *On the Nature of Man* argues that it cannot be regimen that is responsible when a particular disease strikes everyone alike, but may be when many different types of illness happen at the same time (9 IV.pp.24–6 J. = VI.pp.52–4 L.).

It is worth noticing too that it is a sign of the good doctor to suffer ‘wanderings and uncertainties’ in the analysis of such similarities: *Epidemics* 6.8.26 VII p.286 S. = V.pp.352–4 L. It is not meant to be easy, and there are some lovely cases in the *Epidemics* where we can see what have been called ‘scientific soliloquies’,²⁰ as the doctors leave themselves the equivalent of post-it notes:

The symptoms of Menander’s vine-trimmer were similar [to the case of the patient already described], except that his bowel-movements were initially loose, then stopped completely, and so did his urine: he reached his crisis; he did not suffer a shivering fit on the seventh day – was this because his stomach had already been disturbed?

(*Epid.* 4.1.25 VII.p.118 S. = V.p.168 L.)

Concretion (of stones in the kidneys) tends to happen after urination more in the case of children: is that because they are hotter?

(*Epid.* 6.3.7 VII.p.238 S. = V.p.296 L.)

On the same side of the body are localised pain in the ribs, straining in the hypochondrium, swelling in the spleen, nose-bleeds, and (usually) affections of the ears; the same is true of eye-affections. Is this true in all circumstances, or is it affections which move *upwards* which stay on the same side, such as those affecting the region of the jaws, eye, or ear, but affections which move downwards do not stay on the same side? Yet cases of angina, erythema, and pains in the ribs stay on the same side. Is it that affections moving upwards from below the liver stay on the same side, such as those striking the testicles and the varicose veins? These questions require thought – where it takes place, where it comes from, and why.

(*Epid.* 6.2.5 VII.p.226 S. = V.pp.278–80 L.)

One notices how such passages radiate *provisionality*. It is a matter of induction: one builds up a hypothesis over as wide a range of cases as possible, but is aware that this is indeed provisional: the next case may turn out to revise the picture – ‘if I see anyone die, I shall mention it; the ones I know about for the moment have

20 Deichgräber 1971, 38; cf. Langholf 1990, 182–4.

survived' (*Epid.* 2.24 VII.p.42 S. = V.pp.96–8 L.) – and it is important to frame the right questions to put to subsequent investigation. In a particular instance analysed by Helen King, the initial picture suggests that nosebleeds are good for women; but then we come to a case where they are not, and the picture is revised by observing that the woman is a virgin, hence the adult channel from vagina to nose is not yet established, and so she is not really a counter-example after all but an instance of a more refined pattern.²¹ We are building up what might here too be called a narrative code, as we accumulate parallel sequences – women do well from nosebleeds; no, not quite true, non-virginal women do well from nosebleeds. Another case, also concerning a nosebleed, is the daughter of Philo (*Epid.* 1.19 I.p.174 J. = 1.9 II p.658 L.). A number of symptoms, including nasal haemorrhage or copious menstruation, were taken to be a good sign, 'and I know of no case of a woman who died when any of those symptoms took place properly: for the daughter of Philo, who died even though she had suffered a violent nosebleed, had dined rather unseasonably on the seventh day'. So Philo's daughter is no true counter-example, for there was another causal factor at play.

There are some parallels here with Herodotus' practice with the physical world: the way, for instance, that he notices the behaviour of other rivers, especially the Achelous, in explaining the silting up process of the Nile Delta (2.10.3), or that other north-flowing rivers do not flood in the same way as the Nile (2.20.3, above p. 203). We can also suggest analogies with the history of events. What can be the reason why the Spartans cared a lot about keeping the Athenians loyal in 480 but seemed not to care at all in 479? It can only be because of the one significant difference – the building of the wall across the Isthmus (9.8.2).

We can compare too the way that the *reader* of Herodotus notices, say, that tyrants, especially Eastern tyrants, tend to behave in similar ways.²² One after another, these tyrants tend to get carried away by a run of success, become overconfident, try one campaign too far and take on an enemy where whatever there is to gain is far less than what there is to lose; and they come unstuck. Is this because they are just similar people, perhaps because they have something like that in the blood? No, because they are in fact very dissimilar people: so it must be something else, perhaps something in the system, something about tyranny. Or is it more something about the East, so that it is distinctively eastern tyrants that behave like that.... Good questions, and perhaps the last one is never quite answered in the text: indeed, there is very little *explicit* facing of these questions

²¹ King 1989.

²² For this approach to Herodotus, cf. Pelling 2002, 2006a, and forthcoming a and b; Baragwanath 2008 and forthcoming.

at all. But there is still some building up of similar cases rather like Helen King's nosebleeds, and here too we might hope that the 'narrative code' that we eventually plump for is going to correlate with something in the facts of the case, not just something that 'belongs entirely to one's soul'.

Unsurprisingly, there are parallels in rhetoric too: in *Against Meidias*, for instance, Demosthenes' argument that *hybris* is the right word for what Meidias has done is built up by looking at parallels or alleged parallels, and exploring how they are similar and how they, or some of them, are different. Some of those comparanda are historical: this case is both similar to and different from that of Euaeon who killed a Boeotian, and then there is a more elaborate equivalent with Alcibiades (143–50). Some are hypothetical – 'suppose it were someone quite unlike Meidias...' (128); 'would not a normal person have kept his head down after the vote against him of impiety?' (199). And it is not at all a bad approach to historical explanation. If we relate, say, the rise of Nazism to the Wall Street Crash, that may look like a plausible 'narrative code' or emplotment, and we believe it: but we then have to ask why it did not have a similar effect in France or England, and we are into a study of 'similarities and dissimilarities' in rather that Hippocratic fashion, wherever that path may eventually lead.

3

It is time to move from Hume to Mill. What happens when multiple causes all come into play for the same disease or the same event?

There are several ways of handling these. First, the most combative: it is not *A* or *B*, it is *C* – what we might call the politician's line, it's not our fault, it's the last government's. Secondly, the most accommodating: it is all of *A*, *B*, and *C*. Third, the most hierarchical: *A*, *B*, and *C* are interacting, and we can see how; this can sometimes lead to a sort of league-table formulation in terms of *C* being more important than *A* or *B*.

(a) It's not *A*, it's not *B*, it's *C*.

For instance, *On the Sacred Disease* notes that experienced sufferers hide their heads when they feel an attack is coming on, and do this 'from shame and not, as most people think, through fear of the divine' (15 II.p.171 J. = 12 VI.p.382 L.).²³ *On*

²³ Hornblower 2008, 186 notes the striking similarity of this to Thuc. 5.70, where the Spartans march to *aulos* music 'not for the sake of the divine' but to keep in step. See also p. 211 below.

the Nature of Man argues that it is not regimen that is responsible for a particular disease, because it strikes everyone alike (9 IV.pp.24–6 J. = VI.pp.52–4 L.: above, p. 207). As we also saw above, *Ancient Medicine* provides an elaborate guide for setting aside factors that look like causes but are really coincidences. And the various display pieces arguing that the basic constituent of the human body is fire or air or water or earth are certainly insistent that it is one rather than the others (cf. esp. *On the Nature of Man* 1–2 IV.pp. 2–8 J. = VI.pp.32–6 L.).²⁴

(b) A and B and C as well: multiple co-existent causes, but with no attempt to bring them into a coherent scheme.

Thus *On Ancient Medicine* spends most of its effort in explaining health and disease in terms of conflicting ‘powers’ – the sweet and the bitter, the astringent and the insipid, and so on; but its closing chapters pass to a different type of analysis, explaining how the different structures of different parts of the body produce pains and other bodily phenomena. There is no attempt to relate the two modes of analysis to one another; it is just that some pains come from powers and some from structures (22 I.p.56 J. = I.p.626 L.). *Airs Waters Places* 16 (I.pp.114–6 J. = II.pp.62–6 L.) discusses why Asian people are less warlike than European, and stresses the pleasant climate with few sharp changes. But it is also – προσέτι – a matter of their institutions, for people who live under an autocrat are less willing than free people to risk everything just for their master’s sake. That has often reminded critics of Herodotus’ remark on the inspiring effect of freedom at Athens (5.78), but notice the purely additive nature of the argument: it is just an additional point, προσέτι (Jones’ Loeb translation ‘are a contributory cause’ suggests a clearer schematism than there is in the Greek). There is no attempt to establish a hierarchy by, for instance, suggesting that the climate and the easy life it encourages might make people more willing to accept such institutions. A smaller example is *Airs Waters Places* 7 II.pp.82–8 J. = II.pp.26–32 L., discussing the qualities of water. Most space is given to the terrain where they originate, the best coming from high places and the worst from marshy ground; but then ‘I particularly praise’ those flowing to the east while the worst are those flowing to the south, especially if prevailing winds are southerlies too. There may be an implication that terrain is the primary explanation and aspect secondary, as Jouanna puts it;²⁵ but that is indeed Jouanna’s formalisation, not that of *Airs Waters Places* itself.

²⁴ On such debates, see esp. Lloyd 1979, 92–4.

²⁵ Jouanna 2012, 164.

On the Sacred Disease is especially interesting here. Its argument could easily be taken to be that this ‘sacred’ disease is not sacred at all, but in fact it is not quite that: it is that this disease is no more and no less *θεῖον* than any other, for divinity is behind everything. As in *Airs Waters Places* when it discusses the ‘female disease’ of the Scythians (*Airs Waters Places* 22 I.pp.126–30 J. = II.pp.76–82 L.), the author needs to tread carefully here.²⁶ He cannot say ‘it is not the gods at all’, as that would get too many pious lips to purse among his listeners; it was a different matter with that assertion that sufferers ‘hide their heads from shame, not from fear of the divine’ (15 I. p.171 J. = 12 VI. p.382 L., above p. 210), as this was a claim about human behaviour rather than the gods themselves. But he certainly provides powerful reasons why divine explanation is not a good way of looking at it: natural causes are the illuminating ones that explain why particular people are attacked by it, or in *Airs Waters Places* why that female disease happens in Scythia and nowhere else. If it were the gods, then why would it particularly affect phlegmatic types? If the female disease were divine, then why don’t the poor suffer more than the rich, for it is the rich who can make the sumptuous sacrifices that win the gods’ favour? It is open to debate how far this points to genuine ‘religiosity’ in either work and how far the argument is just *ad hominem* along the lines ‘if you believe in the gods, you cannot also believe that they would punish people so randomly’.²⁷ Either way, one can see how the argument exploits both our first category, not-A-not-B-but-C, and our second, A-and-B-and-C: it is the second that allows the formulation that the disease can be divine as well as having identifiable secular causes, but it is the first that furnishes the argumentative

²⁶ Laskaris 2002, 114–6, 123–4 is good on this need for cautious phrasing. On the similarities between the religious thinking of the two works see van der Eijk 1991, with the important qualification made by Laskaris 2002, 148: *Airs Waters Places* can allow the possibility of divine favouritism, at least towards the rich; *On the Sacred Disease* cannot, because its stress on heredity would allow an opponent to claim that the gods may still be sending the disease as punishment for some ancestral transgression. That in itself need not preclude the possibility (no more), accepted by van der Eijk, that the two works are by the same author: the ‘favouritism’ can just be an additional *ad hominem* point against the traditionally minded which the argument allows in the one work but not in the other. Jouanna 2012, 105 similarly suggests that the difference of tone between the two arguments is a matter of rhetoric, in his view the consequence of different target audiences, and (107) that the conception of the divine is so similar that it points to a single author.

²⁷ Cf. the conflicting views of van der Eijk 1990 and 1991 (genuine religiosity) and Laskaris 2002, 113–24, 156 (*ad hominem* rhetoric: cf. Deichgräber 1971, 127, Lloyd, 1979, 55). I tend to side with Laskaris, but it is in the nature of effective rhetoric that one cannot be quite sure about such questions of sincerity.

armoury to dismiss his opponents' causal analysis and demonstrate that divinity cannot carry any helpful explanatory force.

(c) *A* interacting with *B* and *C* in an identifiable way: hence not just accumulating explanations, as in (b), but seeking to reduce them to a finite schema.

A favoured scheme here is that of predisposition and trigger, with an intrinsic disposition creating a susceptibility and then an outbreak stimulated by an external cause. Hard digestive organs make you susceptible to pleurisy, but your abscesses on this occasion may have been triggered by any type of immediate cause (*prophasis*, *Airs Waters Places* 4). Your child's predisposition to epilepsy comes from the body's internal imbalance, but this particular epileptic attack may be owed to a sudden change in the wind to the south, an unexpected noise, or a failure to catch the breath when he or she was crying (*On the Sacred Disease*, esp. 13). There are times where this taste for the binary – a sort of μέν – δέ thinking – leads to simplification. *Airs Waters Places* has traced the causal chain further back to climate, which both encouraged this physical type and then also produced the cold water that combined badly with the dry body; *On the Sacred Disease* has spent time on where that predisposing bodily structure may come from, stressing the part played by heredity and by fluxes of phlegm and bile, and there is also that further divine level of explanation. But when each work comes to specify a particular causal interrelation, it deals with a simple binary polarity, a predisposition and a *prophasis*.

There may be other variations of interaction too, often quite subtle ones: e.g. the discussion of the 'Long-heads' at *Airs Waters Places* 14 I.p.110 J. = II.pp.58–60 L., where it is traced how *nomos* was originally 'most responsible' (αἰτιώτατος) but now *phusis* 'contributes' (ξυμβάλλεται τῷ νόμῳ). As time went on what was originally driven by *nomos* became part of nature – as we might say, it entered the genetic code. But *nomos* clearly continues to contribute too, for long-headedness has become less common because the custom is no longer so 'powerful' (ισχύει) because of contact with other people.²⁸

That αἰτιώτατος, 'most responsible', already has something of the 'league-table mentality' about it, not just sketching how causes collaborate but putting their respective contributions in order of merit. That can be taken much further, as at the end of *Airs Waters Places*:

²⁸ Unless this is a discreet way of referring to miscegenation. Elsewhere too *Airs Waters Places* shows a taste for *phusis*–*nomos* contrasts and interplays: see Thomas 2000, 87–8, 92–3.

These [i.e. acute climatic changes from one season to the next] are the greatest factors in creating differences in people's natures; next comes the land in which a person is brought up and its waters, for in general you will find types and characters of people varying according to the nature of the land...

(*Airs Waters Places* 24 I.p.136 J. = II.p.90 L.)

Or the end of *On Breaths*:

So breaths are seen to be the greatest busybodies (μάλιστα πολυπραγμονέουσai) in all diseases, everything else is only jointly or secondarily responsible (συναίτια καὶ μεταίτια), and I have demonstrated the underlying cause of the disease to be such as I say.

(*On Breaths* 15 II.p.252 J. = VI.p.114 L.)

It is not usually made explicit why these are the hierarchies, and there is no such sophisticated methodology articulated for ordering causes as there was for identifying them in the first place (Section II above); still, we can usually infer from the surrounding argument why the author is putting the explanations in that order. In *On Breaths*, for instance, wind has been a particularly recurrent feature in various contexts, for breaths are those 'greatest busybodies': blood-movements are crucial too, but it is air that stimulates an irregularity (e.g. re fevers, 7–8, or epilepsy, 14), or is at least what makes a laceration painful (14). The logic is not irreproachable,²⁹ but it is certainly not just a case of accumulation but a pyramid hierarchy with breath at the top.

All these different modes of combination hunt together without difficulty. We have already seen something of that in *On the Sacred Disease* (above, pp. 211–212), and if we return to the famous passage in *Airs Waters Places* on the female disease (22 I.pp.126–30 J. = II.pp.76–82 L.) we see something of the same. There is the same facility as in *Sacred Disease* in explaining why a divine explanation is not illuminating: the disease's widespread distribution shows that it is no more divinely caused than any other. There is accumulation of causes too. It is because Scythians go in for blood-letting behind the ear, with unfortunate consequences; it is also because they wear trousers, and hence find it inconvenient to masturbate; and it is also cold and tiring because of the climate. There is the third category too, with *A* interacting with *B* and *C* in an identifiable way, here quite a sophisticated one. Thus the central core of the argument is that their horse-riding causes the swelling of the joints. Humans respond in one way by the blood-letting, which has the side-effect of reducing the flow of semen. Then psychology

²⁹ Cf. Lloyd 1979, 149 n. 119.

cuts in as well, because the men accept that they are impotent and start dressing as women.³⁰

4

What about the historians? It is tempting to say that Herodotus aligns more with the second of our categories, with different causes simply co-existing; Thucydides more with the third, the running of one mode of explication against another and the development of some sort of hierarchy.

As a first bid, that is not bad. Herodotus is more prepared to let different explanatory strands co-exist, particularly of course divine and human strands, but not just those. Several explanations accumulate for Cyrus' attack on the Massagetae (1.204) and for Xerxes' yielding to persuasion to invade Greece (7.6.1–2). Mardonius is attacking Plataea out of stubbornness (9.41.4); a page or so later it is, at least according to Alexander of Macedon, because he is running out of food (9.45.2). Croesus is fearful of Cyrus' growth and launches a pre-emptive strike (1.46.1); then it is also 'in desire for land, wanting to add to his own territory, and in particular trusting in the oracle and wanting to take vengeance on Cyrus for Astyages' (1.73.1). That should not be seen as contradiction, for there can be multiple causes for events, and the bigger the events the more complicated that accumulation of causes can be.³¹

On the other hand, Thucydides does like to weigh different explanations against one another and assess the different contributions they make, rather in the manner of those Hippocratic league-tables. The Sicilian expedition was 'not so much (οὐ τοσοῦτον) mistaken in its target', it was more that the people who had sent it out did not make the right follow-up decisions (2.65.11); once the expedition was underway different cities took sides 'not more (οὐ μᾶλλον) through

30 For further parallels between this passage and Herodotus' own favoured argumentative techniques, see Thomas 2000, 178–80.

31 Nor should it be seen as progressive, along the lines of Fisher 1992, 358 n. 74 ('Originally his intention had been more defensive, to check the expansion of Persian power [1.46], but his ambitions have grown with his confidence'). The later explanation does not exclude or replace the earlier, but each is developed where it is most appropriate in narrative terms. At 1.46.1 defensive necessity is more likely than aggressive greed to shock Croesus out of grief (cf. Fehling 1989, 185–6); at 1.73.1 γῆς ἕμερος is the explanation that sits more suggestively with Sandanis' advice just before. Lateiner 1989, 207 sensibly brings out that the aggressive and defensive elements can readily co-exist.

justice or kinship but as each was driven by chance or advantage or necessity' (7.57.1). Most famously of all, Athenian expansion was the 'truest explanation' (ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις) for the war, though that does not exclude the 'openly expressed grounds' (or 'grievances', ἐς τὸ φάνερρον λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι) of Corcyra and Potidaea from being true as well (1.23.6, cf. 6.6.1 on Sicily). Like the Hippocratics, too, Thucydides does not put in his working, leaving that to be inferred from the narrative. The reason why the one is 'truest' is presumably that this is the more powerful and indispensable, explaining why a war was going to happen anyway; the αἰτίαι, Corcyra and Potidaea, explain why it happened then, in 431 rather than 440 or 425, but if it hadn't been those it would have been something else.³² So here we are also close to that typical 'predisposition and trigger' binary combination of the Hippocratics, and here too that taste for binary structures, that μὲν – δέ thinking, leads to a formulation that elides important parts of Thucydides' own thinking that might blur the antithesis, the way for instance that Athenian expansion played a part in triggering the αἰτίαι in Corcyra and Potidaea as well (Thuc. 1.33.3, 58.1).

So that first bid is not bad; but there are qualifications to be made on both sides, though this is not the place to discuss the Thucydidean ones. With Herodotus we have already seen those two cases where he runs explanations against one another and evaluates them, those of the Nile flood and the Athenian responsibility for saving Greece. He makes the exiled king Demaratus tell Xerxes that 'Greece and poverty have always been brought up together, and *arete* has been superimposed' (ἐπακτός, 7.102.1): poverty and *arete* are both explanations for the way Greeks are now, but they have interacted in some identifiable way.³³ Elsewhere the Persians may pretend to be avenging Arcesilaus of Cyrene, but the real motive is conquering Libya (4.167.3); later their target was allegedly Athens and in 490 Eretria, but they had broader conquest in mind (6.44.1, 7.138.1); different peoples assign different reasons for Cleomenes' madness, but Herodotus thinks it was punishment for his treatment of Demaratus (6.84). Once again, even without his stating his working, we can usually see why he prefers one interpretation over others. By 4.167.3 we have seen enough Persian expansionism already, and

³² Or so I suggested at Pelling 2000, 82–94, esp. 87–8: several points in the argument here were treated at more length in that chapter.

³³ Cf. Thomas 2000: 109–11, though I am uncertain about her suggestion 'that the opposition between poverty and *arete* is that between nature and *nomos*': σύντροφος is more than her 'habitual or indigenous companion', and suggests fellow-nurturing, itself a matter of *nomos* rather than *physis*.

part of the point is to contrast the Persian motive with the genuine lust for vengeance felt within Libya itself; the Persians' desire for vengeance may be bogus, but Pheretime's certainly is not (4.165.3, 202), and that is what draws the Persians in.³⁴ By Books 6 and 7 the Persian drive westwards is well underway, and Greece has been looming as the ultimate goal at least since Darius' bedroom talk with Atossa at 3.133–4 and arguably since Cyrus' move against the Ionian Greeks in Book 1. Then in Cleomenes' Sparta there has been a good deal of τίσις, human and divine, in the air already, and a lot of stress on Cleomenes' wrongdoings;³⁵ and the partisan reasons are also clear why different cities should favour the alternative explanations for his death that Herodotus has listed.³⁶ Such explicit passages of causal evaluation tend to cluster: there are several both in the Libyan *logos* and in Book 6, which is thought-provoking as the great East-West exchange looms.³⁷

Another case concerns the question Croesus is allowed to put to Apollo, 'the god of the Greeks' at 1.90–1. Is Apollo ashamed? Is it the custom of the Greek gods to be ungrateful? With that question hanging in the air, it would be a dull first-time reader or listener who failed to wonder what the answer will be, as the path to so many possible answers has been laid. Is it simply the turn of Fortune's

34 See Baragwanath forthcoming, who points out that Herodotus leaves it unclear whether the driving force is Darius' own expansionist desire or the general Aryandes' anticipation of that desire. Either way, it also illustrates the Persian tendency to exploit the personal motives of others.

35 'That entire section of Book 6 [i.e. that dominated by Cleomenes] revolves around a pattern of crime and delayed punishment' (Gagné 2013, 295). Cf. 6.65.1, 72.1 (Leutychidas), the fable of 86, and 136.2; and 75.3 has already said that the general Greek view was that Cleomenes was paying the price for his corruption of Delphi. There is more on this in Hornblower/Pelling 2017, 16–24.

36 Thus the Athenians say it was because of his cutting down the trees in the sanctuary at Eleusis (75.3: cf. 5.74.2, though nothing there was said about the tree-cutting); the Argives put it down to Cleomenes' sacrilege against their sacred grove (75.3, 84.1, cf. 75–80); the Spartans themselves take the most religiously exculpating view, saying that the gods had nothing to do with it but that it was just Cleomenes' taste for excessive drinking, acquired from too much time spent with the Scythians (84.2–3). From the proem on, Herodotus' narrative has long since acclimatised the reader to be aware that 'narrative is likely to be self-interested' (Dewald 1999, 233). Cf. Hornblower/Pelling 2017, 189 and 201.

37 Already at 4.135.2 (Darius in Scythia), then 4.145.1 and 167.3 (Persian expansionism cloaked in vengeance), 165.3 (Pheretime's disingenuous πρόφασις), 166.2 (Darius' disingenuousness in his ultimate punishment of Aryandes), 200.1, 202.1 (who was αἴτιος or μεταίτιος at Barce?); 6.13.2 (Samians seizing on a πρόφασις), 44.1 and 94.1 (Persian expansionist aims but with a πρόσχημα or πρόφασις of vengeance on Athens and Eretria), 49.2 (Athens and Aegina), 61.1 (Demaratus and Cleomenes), 6.133.1 (Miltiades and Paros).

wheel, or perhaps a piece of divine envy? Both of those strands were present in Solon's language to Croesus at 1.30–33. Or will it emerge that Croesus is responsible for his own fate, and if so how? Is it punishment for over-ambition, crossing the natural bounds of his kingdom? Or for presumption in 'testing' the oracle, something alien to Greek assumptions?³⁸ Or for thinking that the Greek god would care so much for material goods, in using language such as 'Croesus has given you gifts worthy of your discoveries...' (1.53.2)?³⁹ Or for his over-confidence in the stability of his own prosperity? Or for his failure to realise that oracles are ambiguous and require interpretation? Or for outrages against his own kin? Or for maltreatment of the Greeks – after all, Croesus began the narrative as 'the first person I know to have committed unjust deeds against the Greeks' (1.5.3), and this is now the 'god of the Greeks' (1.87.3, 90.2, 4) whom he is reprimanding? All of those strands have been prepared in the narrative; any or all of them might be the answer.

What we are surely *not* expecting is the answer Croesus receives:⁴⁰ that Apollo is grateful and has done his best for Croesus, but that no god can evade the dictates of fate. All Apollo has now procured is a delay of three years. This, he explains, is the vengeance in the fifth generation that was originally promised Gyges. Of course, we had been told about that: right at the beginning Gyges' oracle was firmly set out in the text (1.13.2). But the narrative had not reminded us, not for instance preparing us to understand what 'holding destruction back for three years' might mean. In retrospect we might understand this as referring to the death of Atys, which, it is perhaps implied (1.46.1), delayed Croesus' fatal campaigning for two years. Apollo, unable to delay destruction to the next generation (1.91.2), delays it by destroying the next generation instead. But no reader could have sensed that dimension in the Atys narrative itself: that is introduced as an act of divine indignation (1.34.1), not of oblique favour. In short, we readers had forgotten that oracle, just as the Lydians themselves forgot (1.13.2).

So there we do have some 'running of explanations' against one another, explanations why Apollo allowed it to happen: for the moment, a god gives clarity as only a god can; and the explanation, at least the primary explanation, is made

38 Klees 1965, esp. 16–49 and 66–8, extensively demonstrates that such testing (a) was genuinely carried out by non-Greeks, and (b) would have been most irregular for any Greek. Xen. Cyr. 7.2.17 makes it explicit that any such testing would naturally offend a god, just as it would a human.

39 Cf. Klees 1965, esp. 63–6. For Gagné 2013, 329 Croesus' big mistake is to speak as if he is engaged in a reciprocal exchange between peers.

40 Or so I argued in Pelling 2006a, a paper not taken well by Stahl 2012, 145–50 or by Versnel 2011, 532–7. Stahl's criticism centres on points not relevant here; for Versnel, cf. n. 45 below.

plain. This looks, at least initially, as not-*A*-not-*B*-but-*C*. Yet those other possible strands have not been wasted and any or all of them might come into play in the later narrative: most of them clearly do, whether we think of Polycrates' good fortune or Periander's or Cambyses' familial outrages or Themistocles' interpretation of the wooden wall oracle or Xerxes' turning land into sea and sea into land. They may indeed have been relevant even here, for the cross-generational explanation need not exclude all other explanations just because it is finally seen to be the most powerful one, validated by no less an authority than Apollo himself.⁴¹ So just as in *On the Sacred Disease* there may be something of *A*-and-*B*-and-*C* as well. Yet that questioning is important too, the audience's questioning as much as Croesus' own, that wondering about what the answer would be and which explanation would work best. Coming so early in the work it sets a pattern for the reader's future engagement with the text. It does something to train that reader towards that productive involvement that I suggested earlier, in line with the Hippocratic pattern of testing hypotheses against gradually accumulating evidence (above, section II).

By this stage of the narrative, though, Herodotus' audience will also have been encouraged to see that multiple causes need not be mutually exclusive. Those alternative explanations for Croesus' aggression, land-hunger and self-defence, have by now come and gone (1.46.1, 1.73.1: above, p. 214). The initial catalogue of mutual abductions has conditioned a reader to think in terms of reciprocity and payback as important explanatory principles, and that strand clearly continues to be important;⁴² yet that 'intrinsic' analysis, concentrating more on empires themselves and their tendency to expand and then to overreach, is also underway, overlaying without ever displacing that principle of reciprocity.⁴³ Indeed, that initial talk of a single αἰτία may be something else that is overlaid, as readers and listeners have come to realise that matters resist such simplification.⁴⁴ If Herodotus had wished his readers always to prefer an exclusive 'not *A* not *B* but *C*' approach, he has constructed his initial narrative in a very odd way.⁴⁵

⁴¹ So, rightly, Sewell-Rutter 2007, 11 and Gagné 2013, 341. I should have made this point more explicit at Pelling 2006a, 163–4.

⁴² Gould 1989.

⁴³ Pelling 2000, 86 and forthcoming a, chs. 2 and 8.

⁴⁴ I am most grateful to Carolyn Dewald for making this clear to me.

⁴⁵ I obviously did not make my position on this sufficiently clear in my 2006 paper, as it is misunderstood by Versnel 2011, 532–7. Versnel's view of Herodotus' explanatory strategies does however remain different from mine, despite an overlap which he finally acknowledges (536–7). We both accept that Herodotus can accept multiple explanations at times, and that there are some instances where 'there is *not* [his italics] one preferable solution' (his p. 537 n. 18); it is

The same goes for the more subtle arrangement of causes into interacting hierarchies. Take those two strands of imperial expansion and reciprocity. Evidently it would not be difficult to combine them in the same sort of binary way as Thucydides 1.23.6, with the imperialistic drive as the background ‘disposition’ for eastern conflict to come sooner or later, and reciprocity and revenge coming in as the ‘trigger’ with Athens and Eretria’s involvement in the Ionian Revolt. In a way, describing those Athenian ships as the ἀρχὴ κακῶν at 5.97.3 allows very much that interpretation: eastern aggression against Greece has been looming for a long time (above, p. 216), but it is at this stage that the κακά become insistent and almost continuous. It may be that the familiarity of such binary schemes made it easier for Herodotus to allow the two strands to co-exist without discomfort. But Herodotus does not spell things out in the way that Thucydides does; he just lets the different trains of thought operate independently in different parts of the text.

That is not particularly un-Hippocratic either. In *Airs Waters Places* we can trace different and on the face of it incompatible explanatory strategies co-existing. Thomas put this in terms of sometimes ‘continents’ and sometimes ‘climates’ being the decisive explanatory force;⁴⁶ we might also think of a combination of a ‘causal’ model and an ‘analogy’ or ‘harmony’ model. In the causal model bad or changeable climates generate disease, but may also generate a toughness in those who can resist them.⁴⁷ In the ‘analogy’ or ‘harmony’ model a pleasant climate generates a pleasant life in all respects, including a pleasant freedom from disease (esp. 5 I.pp.78–80 J. = II.pp.22–4 L.), and by the end of the work a changeable climate has come to generate not tough people, but changeable ones (24 I.p.134 J. = II.p.90 L.).⁴⁸ The author feels no need to bring his two schemes together

however important too that at times causes are evaluated and one explanation appears as more powerful than others, as (on my reading) the case of Croesus’ question and Apollo’s answer makes clear. Plurality of explanations is not the same as equipollence (‘... all of them [i.e. the ‘many divergent insights’ in the Croesus narrative] are equally true’, his p. 535). For further criticisms of Versnel’s approach as over-simple, cf. Gagné 2013, 336–7 and 341 n. 230.

⁴⁶ Thomas 2000, 87, 97, 100.

⁴⁷ e.g. *Airs Waters Places* 13 I.p.108 J. = II.p.56 L., 15 I.p.112 J. = II.p.62 L., 19 I.p.122 J. = II.p.72 L., 23 I.p.132 J. = II.p.82 L. One possible way of reconciling the two principles would be to explain the ‘harmonious’ analogies collaterally, with climate working both on land and people in parallel ways (so Diller 1934, 31–3); but that suits some of these cases, e.g. ch. 13, better than others.

⁴⁸ This assumes what I cannot here argue, that the first and second parts of *Airs Waters Places* are conceptually coherent (which might, but need not, imply that they are by the same hand); so also Craik 2015, 9. Certainly these different types of explanatory model should not be used as an argument against such coherence in view of (a) the similar combination of causal and analogous registers which may be found even within the first half and even within the second, and (b)

in any coherent way: where he is concerned to explain physical variations in changeable climates he exploits his analogy model, and when he is explaining tough physiques he uses his causal model.⁴⁹

Nor should we be patronising about this, putting it down to simple intellectual fuzziness or confusion or failure to think things through. Perhaps it is one aspect of the 'early Greek ability for viewing things separately';⁵⁰ perhaps it was also a particular feature of the times;⁵¹ perhaps the tendency was encouraged by the familiar readiness to accept dual explanations when gods were involved, so that Troy might fall both because the gods willed it and because the Greeks had the bigger battalions. But one effect was to facilitate the polyphony that is so often associated with sophisticated historical consciousness, the insistence that there is not one single way of looking at complicated issues, that multiple voices and insights can be a strength rather than a weakness. Pick-and-mix is so much better than one-size-fits-all.

the general readiness of Hippocratic works to allow co-existing explanations. On the unity question, see esp. the sensitive discussion of Grensemann 1979.

49 *Regimen* IV similarly combines two unrelated explanatory schemes: see Langholf 1990, 120–1.

50 The title of a classic paper, Perry 1937; cf. Detienne 1967, arguing that a 'principle of non-contradiction' then developed to 'overthrow' the receptiveness to ambiguity typical of earlier ethical thinking. Versnel 2011 then takes this approach much further. Rowe 1983 analysed 'archaic thought' in Hesiod in similar terms, stressing 'multiple approaches': that is, 'a thing's being described or explained in more than one way in the same context, where the descriptions or explanations are not brought into connection with one another, and where they may appear to be – sometimes, I may add, actually *are* – mutually inconsistent' (127). Rowe distinguishes this from the approach of philosophy, science, and history: 'no-one of them can leave different descriptions or explanations of the same thing standing side by side, but must relate them to each other...' (126, cf. 134–5). But, as we have seen, fifth-century science and history might not have regarded matters as so clear-cut.

51 Thus, once again, Thomas: 'We are perhaps at a point where ideas about knowledge and truth are on the move, different and competing conceptions co-exist of how to get at the truth, the unknown, from the poets, from experience and evidence of experience, to schematic or abstract theories, all with their own plausibility, none quite satisfying or sufficient by itself to jettison all the rest' (2000, 101). But I suspect that these 'different and competing conceptions' were a persistent feature of Greek thought for much longer than this particular period.

5

Explanation is indeed a tricky business, and this is acknowledged both in historians and in the doctors. One further problem is that, unless we accept an implausible degree of determinism, the same causes do not always have the same results (something that a century later would engage Aristotle, with his interest in ‘for the most part’ explanations).⁵² Patients with identical symptoms may in one case get better and in another die, for that will only be decided once the *kairos* has come; there can be a clear enough cause of death even if the death was not inevitable, and explicability need not imply predictability. A doctor is not left without a riposte if a sceptic points out that treated patients sometimes die and untreated patients sometimes get better,⁵³ nor when someone claims that an outcome often depends on luck rather than on the practitioner’s expertise.⁵⁴ Wise figures in the historians too know how difficult it is to predict the future. Wars are unpredictable, says Thucydides’ Archidamus, here agreeing with what the Athenian ambassadors have just said (Thuc. 1.78.1, 84.4, 2.11.4), and his Pericles produces the memorable formulation that ‘events can proceed ignorantly’, they haven’t read the script (1.140.1). That does not stop either Archidamus or Pericles from providing explanations for successes in the past (1.84.2–4, 1.144.4, 2.64.4–5, and the whole Funeral Speech). Historiographic theorists often worry about events that are over-determined; just as big an issue with Herodotus and Thucydides is the way that the biggest things are, at least when looked at in one way, *under-determined* even if they go on to be explicable, just as with a patient that dies or gets well when the opposite might well have happened. Those freedom-driven Greek states could so easily have fragmented into self-destruction rather than gloriously winning; the Athenians could so easily have won in Sicily – it was just a matter of a few feet in that wall-construction (Thuc. 7.2.4). True, there were evidently times when those medical ripostes were needed, just as Thucydides represents Pericles’ and Archidamus’ warnings as ones that were worth giving: that might

52 Cf. Henry 2015, arguing that some categories of such *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* thinking apply in Aristotelian scientific thinking as well as in his treatment of ethics and practical decision-making (EN 1.3.1094b20–2, etc). Some of those categories involve correlation without causation, but not all do.

53 *The Art* 4–8 II.pp.194–204 J. = VI.pp.6–14 L.

54 *The Art* II.p.194 J. = VI.p.6 L. The response – bad luck tends to come after bad treatment and good luck after good – will irresistibly remind some of us of the golfer Gary Player’s retort when an onlooker told him that a bunker shot had been lucky: ‘It’s funny, the more I practise the luckier I get’. Themistocles too says something similar: Hdt. 8.60y.

suggest that, then as now, patients might have expected diagnoses to be more confident and medical predictions to be more certain than they could be, just as the public would blame politicians for bad advice if events did not turn out as they had reasonably expected (as Thucydides' Pericles complains in his final speech, 2.62.3 and 64.1–2). But is also true that such ripostes and disclaimers were clearly expected to sound plausible. Prediction is not an exact science; sometimes, indeed, outcomes turn out not to have read the script.

One reason for this is precisely that insight that different strands can come into play at different points, and several modes of interpretation can all be valid. Maybe that is even relevant to that old question of Herodotus' view of the Athenian empire and its rise and prospective fall. Carolyn Dewald⁵⁵ pointed out that when Herodotus was writing – 420s, perhaps – no-one could really see how the Athenian empire would end, but Herodotus knew that many of his readers *would* know that. Perhaps it would all end in tears, and Athens would indeed be the new Persia not just in empire but also in catastrophe; perhaps though it would be different, presumably because of that underlying contrast between a people who understood freedom and a people who did not. Outcomes are indeed unpredictable. Whichever it would be, Dewald implies, Herodotus provides us with a narrative that will give us an explanation and help us to understand: this is the power of a rich, multi-textured narrative that has so many explicatory strands all jostling next to one another. Both sides of freedom and indeed of democracy, the upside and the downside, have been thoroughly aired. If that is right, this is indeed preparing for explicability without predictability, and in a big way. And only the readers – those readers whom Herodotus' text has itself trained to ask good causal questions, and who would themselves be interpreting in the light of their own times and places – would be able to judge which strands mattered most.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Dewald 1997.

⁵⁶ This paper has its origins in research funded long ago by the Leverhulme Foundation, and I express my thanks, as also to Carolyn Dewald and Simon Hornblower for thought-provoking comments on an earlier version. Parts have surfaced in the inaugural Christopher Roberts Lecture at Dickinson College in 1998 and in the 2008 Fordyce Mitchel Lectures at the University of Missouri-Columbia, and have also been given as papers in Oxford, Cambridge, Leeds, Newcastle, Durham, Boulder, Austin, King's College London, and at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. It represents part of a larger book-project on historical explanation in Herodotus, to be published by Texas University Press = Pelling, forthcoming b.

Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi

ἱστορίειν and θαμάζειν: scientific terms and signs of unity in Herodotus' *Histories*

1 Introduction

Under the weight of its creator's title as the father of history, Herodotus' work has suffered the most austere criticism concerning its unity, since various digressions (παρεκβάσεις), interpolations (παρενθήκαι) and/or additions (προσθήκαι) interrupt the narrative process so that the war between the Greeks and Persians, supposedly the theme of Herodotus' work, is restricted to the last third of the *Histories*.¹ Herodotus' younger contemporary, Thucydides, noted the readiness of λογογράφοι to admit τὸ μὴ ὄν under the influence of the demands of oral delivery to a live audience, perhaps hinting at Herodotus.² Aristotle, however, mentioned Herodotus' work as an example of historiography, with the completely hypothetical and impractical suggestion that it would still be a kind of history even if rewritten in verse (*Poet.* 1451b). In the preface to his *Histories*, Herodotus himself characterised his work as a presentation of the results of his inquiry (ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις) and designated his goal as to preserve the fame of the important and marvellous achievements (ἔργα ... θαυμαστά) made by both Greeks and barbarians, among which he distinguished the cause of the war between them as being the most important:

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γίνηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Here are presented the results of the inquiry carried out by Herodotus from Halicarnassus. The purpose is to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time, and to preserve the fame of the important and remarkable achievements produced by both Greeks and non-Greeks; among the matters covered is, in particular, the cause of the hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks.³

¹ Jacoby 1909, 1913. See also Myres 1953; Immerwahr 1966; Wood 1972; Fornara 1971, and more recently the relevant essays in Munson 2013.

² Thuc.1.21.1.

³ Transl. by Waterfield 1998.

Since the syntax of Herodotus' preface appears to be held together by the terms *ἱστορίη* and *θῶμα*,⁴ I have decided to explore the meaning of these words in the whole work, in order to show that their prominence in the starting point of the *Histories* supports both the unity and the scientific character of the work. The scientific criterion I use is rather simple: a clear priority given to the rational interpretation of all things. This approach is of course obvious to us nowadays. But in Herodotus' time, it was a rather sensational event where, in the greater part of his homeland, Ionia, the first philosophers, whom we call 'natural philosophers', had already subverted currently held theories and searched for the origin of the world in the elements of nature: e.g. Thales in water, Heraclitus in fire, and so on.⁵ Their criteria were not theological but rational. What ultimately matters is not the answers they gave but the questions that were raised. Since then, scientists throughout the ages have been working to answer such questions.

2 ἱστορίη and ἱστορέειν

I begin with the term *ἱστορίη*. From our ancient Greek lexica we know that the noun *ἱστορίη* is not found before Herodotus,⁶ but from Herodotus onwards it is found in prose works, though not in poetry, with the exception of a fragment from an unknown tragedy of Euripides (fr. 910 Kannicht), which I will discuss last.⁷ In Herodotus' *Histories*, the noun *ἱστορίη* is used only five times: at 1.1, 2.99.1, 2.118.1, 2.119.3, 7.96.1. In its official use in the preface of the work, the word *historiē* is used in conjunction with the noun *ἀπόδεξις* on which it depends as an objective genitive: 'the work is the display of the inquiry of Herodotus'.⁸ With this general meaning, the word *ἱστορίη* is also used in the seventh book, in a first person statement, where Herodotus argues that it was not necessary for the aim of his history to record the names of the native leaders who followed his army (7.96.1): τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένημαι ('I am not going to give the names of these officers, because they are not required

⁴ See the general study by Benardete 1969.

⁵ For Herodotus' association with the Ionian philosophers, see Lloyd 1975, esp. ch. 4; Corcella 1984; and Gould 1989, 7–8. For the fullest treatment of Herodotus' presocratic and sophistic links, see Nestle 1908; Thomas 2000, 16–17 and 2006, 62–63.

⁶ Earlier (c. 500 BC), in Heraclitus B 35 (DK vol. I 159.6) we find the noun *ἵστωρ* referring to the philosophers, who have to know a lot of things very well (εὖ μάλα πολλῶν ἱστορας).

⁷ See below pp. 238–9.

⁸ For *ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις*, see Thomas 2000, 267–269; Bakker 2002.

by the account of this inquiry'). In this passage the word *ιστορίης* is an objective genitive dependent on *λόγον*, just as in the preface it depends on *ἀπόδειξις*. The other three instances are all in Book 2. However, as we can understand from the word's syntax and context, the noun *ιστορίη* in these passages does not refer to the inquiry as a whole, but to the way or method in which it was conducted. More specifically, at the beginning of 2.99.1, the word *ιστορίη* is placed in the third position of a series, in which *ὄψις* is first and *γνώμη* second: *μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ιστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι* ('so far my account of Egypt has been dictated by my own observation, judgement, and investigation');⁹ and the word is also used similarly at 2.118 (*ιστορήσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι*) and 119 (*ιστορήσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι*), referring to Herodotus' means of acquiring knowledge.¹⁰ Since we have reason to suppose that the preface had an introductory role and was written after Herodotus had completed his whole work, we may accept that the meaning of 'inquiry' for the word *ιστορίη* in the preface was not its original one, but results from the significance of the manner of inquiry, which is the obvious meaning of the word *ιστορίη* in all three instances where it is used in Book 2.

The matter therefore lies in determining what the manner of inquiry entails, and the only way to do this is to investigate the meaning of the verb *ιστορῆειν*, which, fortunately, is used by Herodotus in more passages than its root (*ιστορίη*). In all instances, the verb *ιστορίη* means or implies asking questions (successive and often persistent), to which the answers cannot be a single word but a narrative. An example of this would be the case of Periander, who, not believing that Arion was rescued by a dolphin, interrogates the sailors who attempted to murder the poet in order to uncover what really happened (1.24). Periander also uses urgent questions to elicit an answer from his astonished sons, who were informed by their grandfather that Periander himself had killed their mother (3.50–51.1).¹¹ Then there is the case of the newly-wedded wife of Peisistratus, daughter of Megacles the Alcmaeonid, who, perhaps because of her mother's persistent questions concerning her childlessness, was forced to reveal the secret of her deviant intercourse with Peisistratus, which protected him from having new children who carried the curse of her Alcmaeonid family (1.61).¹² Finally, there is Croesus, who

⁹ For the importance of Herodotus' self-referentiality in this passage, see Luraghi 2006.

¹⁰ I should note that Herodotus' references to *ιστορίη* of others at 2.118 and 119 contains an element of judging; see Fowler 2006, 32.

¹¹ For the mythical patterns of this story, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988.

¹² For the anecdotal character of this story I note the observation by Dewald 2006, 156: 'Herodotus does not like tyranny, and Peisistratus' tyranny is metaphorically doing to the Athenian citizen body what he has overtly done to Megacles' daughter'.

searched, through exploratory questions, for allies among the Greek cities, till he settled on the two most powerful, Sparta and Athens: he is then able to use his information to determine their racial origins, showing a special interest in the Dorians of Lacedaemon and the Ionians of Athens (1.56).¹³

The use of *ιστορέειν* is also quite noteworthy in exploring facets of the natural world, as with the river Nile and its sources. By *ιστορέειν* Herodotus is referring to the questions he himself posed to the Egyptians, seeking to understand the distinctiveness of this river. But to a greater extent, Herodotus is showing his method: the answers to his previous questions raise new questions which provide a better understanding:

τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἷός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ιστορέων αὐτοὺς ἦντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε δὴ [τὰ λελεγμένα] βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἰστόρεον καὶ ὅτι αὐρας ἀποπνεούσας μούνης ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.

No one in Egypt could give me any information about this at all, when I asked them what it was about the Nile that made it behave in the opposite way from all other rivers. My desire to know about these matters led me to make enquiries, and I also tried to find out why it is the only river in the world from which no breezes blow.

Herodotus 2.19.3

Thus a series of questions and answers is the root of knowledge, and the *ιστορημένα* comprise the substance of safe conclusions (2.44.5). And since the use of the verb *ιστορέειν* in the second book is combined with that of the noun *ιστορίη*, we may supplement our findings on Herodotus' methodology with his self-referential statement that *ιστορίη* is the last in a series, after hearsay (2.29.1 ἀκοῇ ἢ δὴ ιστορέων), autopsy (2.34, 44), and judgement (2.99.1). *ιστορίη* is different from *λόγος*, because *λόγοι* can simply be what others volunteer (hearsay),¹⁴ not specifically answers to questions raised by the interested party:

¹³ For Croesus' inquiry, see also Hdt. 1.59.1, 1.65.1, 1.69.1. Rood 2006, 294, pays special attention to the fact that Herodotus 'uses the same word for Croesus' inquiry that he uses of his own'. But, given that *ιστορέειν* is used on many less significant occasions with the meaning of asking questions and getting answers, I don't think that here it reflects the political impact of Croesus' dignity in Asia.

¹⁴ It is important here to distinguish between *λόγος/λόγοι* referring to storytellers and *λόγος/λόγοι* referring to parts of Herodotus' narrative (*ιστορίη*). For this distinction, see Bakker 2006, 98–101.

μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιος.

So far my account of Egypt has been dictated by my own observation, judgement, and investigation, but from now on I will be relating Egyptian accounts, supplemented by what I personally saw.

Herodotus 2.99.1

The series therefore is oral records, autopsy, critical analysis/ logical assessment of the data, and asking questions. Within this series, the answers received in response to the questions asked bear the stamp of knowledge sought by the interested party.

What is remarkable is that, after knowledge of natural phenomena, the other group of self-referential uses of *ιστορέειν* concerns Herodotus' effort to define his status towards the narrative tradition of Homer (2.112–120). The topic under discussion is Helen's abduction by Menelaus. Herodotus bases his own questions on the answers given by the Egyptian priests: *ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε ...* ('when I asked of the priests, they told me that the events concerning Helen happened as follows ...', 2.113.1). Herodotus himself trusts these answers because, according to the Egyptian priests, they derive ultimately from similar responses given by Menelaus. Herodotus thus adopts the Egyptian version of the events of Helen's abduction, questioning the (Greek) account of what happened at Troy:

εἰρομένου δέ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὐ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορήσει φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω.

I asked the priests whether or not the Greek version of what happened at Ilium was completely ridiculous, and this is what they told me (adding that they were sure of the correctness of their information) because they had asked Menelaus himself.

Herodotus 2.118.1

But because it is difficult for him to reject Homer, Herodotus supplements the Egyptians' words with logical argument, claiming that Helen never arrived at Troy, because in that case it would be absurd for Priam or his older son Hector (if he had been heir to the throne at Priam's death) to risk the existence of their city on behalf of Paris. But the Greeks did not believe the Trojans, although they spoke the truth, and caused the utter disaster of the city, because this was the will of the divine power which wanted to punish them for Paris' injustice (2.120.5). In reality, Herodotus does not question the abduction of Helen by Paris or the war and the destruction of Troy, but he takes into account the poetic composition of the *Iliad*,

claiming that Homer chose to use another version according to which Helen and Paris came to Troy, despite knowing the version of the shipwreck and the couple's detention in Proteus' country (2.116.1–2). It is noteworthy that Herodotus identifies the relevant passages of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as showing Homer knew the other version, thus presenting the first example of a literary critique of Homer's epics (2.116.3–5).¹⁵

3 θαμάζειν: miraculous events

Although ἱστορέειν refers to the manner in which Herodotus made his inquiry and tried to establish knowledge, the verb is rarely encountered in the *Histories* by comparison with θαμάζειν, which is widely used for responses to all aspects of life: natural phenomena and irrational events, acts of gods and mythical heroes, impressive buildings and personal or social opinions, political and military actions. What is Herodotus' position towards all of these things?¹⁶

For the miraculous rescue of Arion by a dolphin that took him to Taenarus (1.23), Herodotus cites what the Corinthians say, along with the supporting evidence of the inhabitants of Lesbos, Arion's own island. Herodotus himself shows no signs of doubting this narrative; rather he enjoys it as something marvellous, suitable to the fame of a gifted poet.¹⁷

Herodotus does, however, question the unlikely tradition that Scyllias of Scione dived into the sea at Aphetæ and stayed underwater for about eighty furlongs till he came to Artemisium, where he defected to the Greek generals and

¹⁵ For Herodotus' critical rejection of the Homeric story of Troy, see Marincola 2006, 21–22. See also Saïd 2012; de Jong 2012. For the importance of the critical interpretation of the Homeric text for the emergence of ancient literary criticism, see Grintser 2002, 73 and in this volume pp. 157–174.

¹⁶ Munson 2001, 27–30 (in a section entitled 'incongruities and wonders'); Priestley 2014, 55–61 (in a section entitled 'wonder-narratives in Herodotus').

¹⁷ Gray 2001 (with a guide to previous bibliography on Arion's story in Herodotus). See also Friedman 2006, 168–171, who argues that the stories of Arion and Democedes have a distinguished position in the *Histories*, showing Herodotus' interest in figures who possessed a specialised knowledge (τέχνη) and were useful to their audiences/communities as δημιουργοί. See Baragwanath 2008, 32–33 and Lyons 2014, who explores 'to what extent does the mixture of historical and non-historical elements constitute a conscious strategy of Herodotus' (p. 425). 'Arion's leap' is the subtitle of a modern study of Herodotus' art (Thomson 1996), showing that some of Herodotus' fanciful stories may be a key to understanding his deeper idea of history, particularly his political theory.

told them of the Persian shipwreck at Pelion and the ships that had been sent round Euboea. Herodotus' opinion is that Scyllias went there secretly by boat (8.8).

In order to discover a marvellous grave of Orestes twelve feet long in Tegea (1.68), the Spartan *agathoergos* Lichas made use of his knowledge of iron-working (the smith's two bellows, hammer and anvil), taught to him by a Tegean smith. Having discovered how iron was forged, he himself could then uncover the meaning of an old obscure oracle by Pythia speaking of two winds, blow upon blow and woe upon woe for Orestes' grave, whence, though late, he carried the hero's bones to Sparta, giving military dominance to his *polis*. In this case, the logical unravelling of the marvel appears to belong to Lichas, but the conviction is rather that of Herodotus, since in the narrative it is presented as a comment on the action of the Spartan *agathoergos* with the term σοφίη placed in a prominent position (1.68.1): Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίη χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ ('...Lichas made the discovery in Tegea using a combination of luck and intelligence').¹⁸

In contrast, for Athenian Epizelus' extraordinary loss of sight in the battle of Marathon (6.117) the explanation comes from the victim himself, and is quite irrational, since Epizelus attributed his blindness to the phantom of a tall, armed man, whose beard overshadowed his shield during the battle. Herodotus does not mention his own opinion. Instead, he remains in wonder, since he twice mentions that his information is indirect, coming from other persons who had heard Epizelus speaking of what had happened to him: λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ...ἤκουσα τόνδε τὸν λόγον ...ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπιζήλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν (6.117.3).¹⁹

For the paradoxical attack of Thracian lions only on Xerxes' camels and not on beasts of burden or men Herodotus gives the reasonable explanation that those lions had never seen camels until then (7.125).

As for the miraculous incident (θῶμα) in the sanctuary of Ptoön where Apollo prophesied in Carian to Mardonius' emissary Mys, this datum is attributed to the Thebans (τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, 8.135.1) and

¹⁸ On the role of Lichas in this story, see Dewald 2012, 73; Gray 2012, 174; and the most recent comment on the text by Wilson 2015, 9.

¹⁹ Epizelus' blinding has been considered as an incredible event; e.g. Grundy 1901 ignores it. But for modern writers this passage is used as a clear indication of the terror of battle in ancient warfare, pointing to "hysterical blindness, in which the mind intervenes to protect the body from the horror confronting it" (Tritle 2006, 214–215; cf. Tritle 2000, 159–160). Against medical dogmatism and other modern preconceptions, see Keaveney/Bartley 2014. Epizelus is the only Athenian *thōma* referred to. Spartan *thōmata* are slightly more: for Spartan heralds (7.135), Leonidas (7.204), and the Spartan army (9.11); see Priestley 2014, 66 n.60.

is instead recorded in the account of divine wonders, which Herodotus does not subject to logical examination.²⁰

4 The wonders of nature

Logic is more clearly deployed by Herodotus in order to explain wonders that concern nature. The possibility that the Nile's marvellous flood is due to the fact that it flows from Ocean, which flows around the whole world, is characterised as less well-informed (ἀνεπισημονεστέρα) albeit a more marvellous story (θωμασιωτέρα), based as it is on the supposition of a circumambient ocean, which he considers a μῦθος that cannot be verified (cf. 2.23):²¹

ἡ δ' ἐτέρα ἀνεπισημονεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρα, ἣ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν.

The second theory is even more ignorant than the one I have just mentioned, though it is more striking in expression; it claims that it is because the Nile flows from the Ocean that it manages to do what it does, and that the Ocean surrounds the whole world.

Herodotus 2.21

Herodotus also strongly questions the Egyptian opinion that the island called Chemmis is floating (2.156).²² His argument is based on reflection; he expresses wonder tinged with disbelief at the Egyptians' claim (2.156.2): αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσιν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή ('I myself never saw it floating or moving, and I was astonished when I was told that it was really a floating island'). His observation that on the island there are many palms, among other trees (some yielding fruit, some not), as well as a great shrine of Apollo with three altars (2.156.3), is presented rather as an element of logical disbelief that the island has the potential of moving.²³ Furthermore the religious interpretation offered by the Egyptians, that the island began to float in order to rescue the Egyptian Apollo (named Horus) from Typho who

²⁰ On this event, see Robert 1950, who dismisses the idea that the oracle was given in Carian, even exceptionally, and thinks that Mys read exactly what he was looking for in the unclear utterances of the *promantis* (esp. pp. 29–30); cf. Daux 1957; Schachter 1981, 66.

²¹ Wainwright 1953; Graham 2003; Priestley 2014, 119–120 (esp. p. 119 n.32); and Lloyd 1976, 100, on the influence of Anaximander and Hecataeus of Miletus.

²² See the comments by Lloyd 1988.

²³ Cf. Herodotus' disbelief that the Symplegades were once mobile (4.85.1).

was persecuting him (2.156.4), validates, in my opinion, Herodotus' reason-based disbelief – a disbelief which does not question the gods' existence, but explains the human effort to make impossible stories credible by ascribing their events to the gods. The fact that Herodotus here distinguishes between logical and illogical (divine) interpretations is, I think, a valid scientific criterion of how he approached things.

A fully coherent and rational account, however, is offered for Scythia's paradoxical weather conditions and animal phenomena, which Herodotus seems to attribute overall to its exceedingly cold climate (4.28–29). Unbearable frost for eight months of every year and unceasing rain in the four summer months make thunderstorms in the Scythian winter rare enough to be marvels. The country's strange conditions include the rarity of earthquakes, which when they do occur are considered a τέρας by the natives, and the unusual tolerance of the horses – but not the asses or mules – of the Scythian winter in comparison to those elsewhere. Herodotus explains the absence of mules from Scythia by the cold, and has to confront their absence from Elis, despite it being a warm country (4.30.1). Although he has no explanation, he mentions the physical intervention of the Eleans, who address the absence of mules in their own country by breeding their mares with asses of neighbouring countries. Herodotus clearly does not share the illogical explanation of the inhabitants who speak of an old curse. The absence of mules in Elis is responsible for an important self-reference by Herodotus, a little before the middle of the *Histories*, in which he identifies marvels as the reason for such an excursus: θωμάζω δέ (προσθήκας γάρ δή μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλείῃ... (4.30.1).

What is also remarkable is Herodotus' attempt to give his own view of the boundaries between Europe, Asia, and Libya,²⁴ rhetorically expressing his dissent from the mapped division made by others (4.42.1): θωμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην [τε] καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην ('I am surprised, therefore, at the ways in which Libya, Asia, and Europe have been demarcated and distinguished'). Working from his own calculations he claimed that in length Europe was wider than Libya and Asia together and thought that in the East it stretched along Asia parallel to North Africa. His reasoning is based on the geographical data of his time. Since Libya 'clearly shows that it is surrounded by sea' (1.42.2 Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος)²⁵ and Asia is bounded by the Red Sea (i.e. the Arabian Gulf) to the East (4.40.1 τὰ πρὸς ἧῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον

²⁴ See Thomas 2000, 75–100 (in a chapter entitled 'dividing the world: Europe, Asia, Greeks and barbarians'); Irby 2012, 93.

²⁵ The Mediterranean to the north and the Red Sea to the south.

ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρῆκει θάλασσα), Europe should thus be much wider than the other continents because its northern borders are undetermined and nobody knows whether it is surrounded by sea or not (4.45.1).

Even more fascinating are the details of Herodotus' narrative of the Phoenician expedition sent by King Necos of Egypt. He ordered them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles until they came into the northern sea and 'thus' return to Egypt (4.42.2–4). The experience of Necos' Phoenicians is the same as that of later explorers: in sailing from east to west around Africa (i.e. round the Cape of Good Hope), they saw the sun of the southern hemisphere on their right (4.42.4). This detail, which Herodotus incidentally claims to not believe (καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ οὐ πιστά), may indeed confirm the historicity of the Phoenician expedition. Most authorities now accept the story of the circumnavigation.²⁶

There are other things in the natural world that Herodotus records as wonders that are not given any rational assessment. As one example I refer to Lydia's only marvel (in Herodotus' view), the gold dust that comes down from Mount Tmolus (1.93.1). When Herodotus does apply reason to the assessment of the marvels of nature, it has to do with autopsy, which guarantees the reliability of information and forms a basis for legitimate admiration of the natural world. A characteristic example is that of the Herodotean descriptions of the great wealth of the Scythian river Borysthenes (4.53.2–3).²⁷ Herodotus thinks that he can rank the Borysthenes second after the Nile for its productiveness. Moreover, this comparison provides him with the opportunity to return to the subject of sources, claiming, with disarming sincerity, that neither he nor any Greek can identify the sources of both the Nile and Borysthenes (4.53.5): μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγὰς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων ('this river and the Nile are the only ones whose sources I am unable to tell – but I think no other Greek can either').²⁸ Here omitting reference to the mytho-cosmic view of the Ocean as surrounding the world which he had previously mentioned as the basis of the common opinion concerning the sources of the Nile (2.21), he further confirms his real dedication to reason as a basis for assessing the reliability of what he reports.

Onsite investigation seems to be the main source of Herodotus' geographical descriptions of the Black Sea (4.85), which he thinks is the most wonderful sea of

²⁶ For the issues discussed in these two paragraphs, see Bichler in this volume, pp. 142–144.

²⁷ See the comments by Corcella in: Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007; Skinner 2012, 164–165; Minns 1913, 28–29.

²⁸ In all probability, Herodotus visited Egypt before Scythia; see Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 7.

all (θαυμασιώτατος), and he gives both its dimensions (4.85.2) and those of the Bosphorus (4.85.3). Although his estimates for the size of the Black Sea are rather in excess (cf. Strabo 12.37), from his references it seems very probable that he himself had travelled from the Bosphorus to Colchis. However, it is certain that he had not visited the western coastline of the Black Sea, because in that case he would have seen that there its breadth is the greatest. That the estimates are his own is suggested at the beginning of the next chapter (4.86.1) by the passive perfect μεμετρήσθαι, which is then picked up (4.86.4) by μεμετρήσθαι with the dative of the personal pronoun μοι: οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρήσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι ('this is how I have measured the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, and they are, in measurement, as I have said they are'). His measuring unit was not precise, being the distance sailed in one day or night (for shipping) or covered in one day by a walker (for travel by land).

As for the mines of Thasos, Herodotus' references are undoubtedly reliable, since he initially says that he himself saw these mines (6.47.1 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς). Since he thinks that the most marvellous of the island's mines were those founded by the Phoenicians when they colonised it, he considers it necessary to define their geographical position most accurately: they lie between Aenyra and Coenyra in Thasos, opposite Samothrace.

Herodotus' attitude towards nature is generally pre-determined by the strength of his belief in its stability. That is why, for example, he questions information that concerns the 'floating' of natural elements which might be expected to be stable: the floating island of Chemmis (2.156), the wandering Symplegades rocks (4.85.1).²⁹ Rational measurement (such as volume and height) or stability/immobility become natural laws. Among natural phenomena we may also include Herodotus' reference to a strange difference between the hardness of the skulls of the Persians and the Egyptians (3.12). Herodotus was first informed about this by the people of the country (3.12.1 θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, 'I saw there something astonishing, which I had heard about from the local inhabitants') and then he confirmed it with an onsite visit to the scene of a battle, where the bones of those killed were scattered separately, according to which side of battle they fought for. As a reasonable explanation Herodotus accepts what the people of the country say: the reason they gave me for this –and I found it very plausible (αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τότε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γε εὐπετέως ἔπειθον) was that 'the Persian skulls are weak because they cover their heads throughout their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear,

²⁹ Above, p. 230.

while the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun'.³⁰

5 Man-made θώματα

The human intervention in nature involved here is responsible for many other phenomena Herodotus presents as 'marvellous', whether the phenomenon is a piece of technical knowledge or a marvellous construction. For example, the Spartan *agathoergos* called Lichas, a non-expert, stands in great amazement and wonder (ἐν θώματι ἦν) when he goes into a blacksmith's shop in Tegea and watches iron being forged (1.68).³¹ Herodotus himself describes the circular shield-like shape of the Babylonian boats descending the Euphrates to Babylon (the *gúfah* of modern times) as the most wondrous thing (τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστον) of the Babylonian country (1.194).³² In my opinion, Herodotus is interested in offering a convincing account of how the Babylonians succeed not only in constructing the perfectly round shape of the great boats but also how they are maintained despite the supple material they are made of. So here, the statement 'they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow' (1.194.2 οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πῶρην συνάγοντες) implies that the Babylonians did not follow the usual technique of naval architecture which broadens the one point of the ship (the stern) and narrows the other (the prow). The same seems to be true for their manner of rowing. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him: ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλῆκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεῶτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει (1.194.3). This technique shows that the rowers tried to keep the balance of the round craft rather than to propel it, since its movement was guaranteed by the river flowing downwards. I don't know whether this detailed information is due to Herodotus the traveller's great interest in navigation or if it betrays his need as a historian to understand the logical explanation of all things.

My hypothesis that Herodotus needs as a historian to understand the logical explanation of all things is better supported by Herodotus' other descriptions of impressive constructions. First are the marvellous works of the Egyptians who,

³⁰ See the comment by Lloyd in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007; cf. the observations by Thomas 2000, 31–32.

³¹ Above, n.18.

³² See the comment by Asheri in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007.

he says at the beginning of his relevant λόγος, present differences from the rest of mankind at all levels (2.35.1). But it is remarkable that Herodotus does not use the term θῶμα to characterise an impressive Egyptian work (e.g. the pyramids), but uses it to refer to specialised technical constructions.³³ Thus he expresses surprise and wonder (2.148.6) at the maze constituted by the architecture of the upper chambers of the Labyrinth near the so-called City of Crocodiles (2.148), which he viewed with his own eyes while meandering through its courts, living quarters, and colonnades.³⁴ The fact that it was prohibited for visitors to see the underground chambers, where there were tombs of ancient kings and sacred crocodiles, excites Herodotus' curiosity even more, since hearsay, which he is obliged to adhere to, is too weak to satisfy his admiration of the monumental architecture of the whole building (2.148.1–6):

τὸν ἐγὼ ᾗδι εἶδον λόγου μέζω [τὸν Λαβύρινθον] ... οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι ... τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοί τε ὠρώμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα ... οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπείων ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὠρώμεν.

I have personally seen it and it defies description ... The labyrinth has rooms on two levels – an underground level and an above ground level on top of it ... I myself went through the ground-level rooms and saw them, and so I speak from first-hand knowledge, but the underground ones were only described to me ... So far as the underground rooms are concerned I can only pass on what I was told, but the upper rooms, which I personally saw, seem almost superhuman edifices.

Herodotus 2.148.1–6

Herodotus' interest in this specialised technical knowledge, even if he cannot comprehend it, is shown by his separate report of the stone roof of the Labyrinth, with its walls which were also made of stone (2.148.7).³⁵ Herodotus displays a similar interest in the method of the construction of the oracle sacred to Leto, in the great city of Buto, by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile (2.155.1–3).³⁶ The entire building is made out of a single slab of stone without a single gap in its four walls, which are of equal length and height. Another stone slab makes up the surface of the roof, again with no gaps. For Herodotus, this feature was the most wondrous

³³ This detail should be taken into account in determining the rhetoric of θῶμα in Herodotus. We should probably not restrict it to a response to size; see Priestley 2014, 56–58.

³⁴ See the comments already by Larcher 1829, in Cooley 1844, 488. Also Parry 2005, 156–157; Lloyd 1970; Lloyd 1995, 289.

³⁵ Larcher 1829 in Cooley 1844, 489.

³⁶ Verrall 1896; Černý 1962, 46–47; Lloyd 1995, 289–291.

thing of all (θωμαστότατον, 2.156.1), and even more so when combined with the balance of the roof. Herodotus records this marvellous technical production as a result of his interest in acquiring this particular piece of knowledge, even though he himself is not able to find it or give an explanation. As for Lake Moeris, however, which is adjacent to the Labyrinth, Herodotus explains that it is artificial, following an impressive syllogism (2.149.2–4).³⁷ The first logical element is empirical and comes from nature: by observing that the landscape is arid he understands that the water cannot have a natural origin (2.149.4). The next logical elements arise from the presence of two pyramids, both carrying a colossal stone figure seated on a throne at the very top (2.149.2–3). Herodotus perhaps understands that these buildings function as a barrier for the water, since for the six months of flood the water is brought into the lake by a channel from the Nile, and for the following six months of drought flows back out of the lake, carrying a wealth of fish. It seems that the technical knowledge needed for the construction of monolithic buildings fascinated Herodotus. This is why, in his account of his wonder at the huge dimensions of the outer court of Athena's temple at the Egyptian Sais, Herodotus focuses (μάλιστα θωμάζω, 2.175.3) on an enormous monolithic shrine, which was transported with great difficulty from the city of Elephantine without reaching its final destination within the walls of the temple because of its huge dimensions (2.175.3–5). Herodotus mentions the dismay of the architect and a fatality during transport (2.175.5).³⁸

Herodotus also describes the breastplate given to the Spartans by the Egyptian King Amasis as worthy of wonder (θωμάσαι ἄξιον, 3.47.3). Herodotus carefully mentions its material ('it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery') and its artificial appearance (embroidered with many figures). Here too he pays special attention to a technical detail: that each thread of the breastplate was made up of three hundred and sixty strands, each clearly visible.³⁹ So, is it probable that he counted them?

A final Egyptian phenomenon to excite Herodotus' wonder (ἀποθωμάζειν, 2.79.2) is how the Egyptians came to have a version of the Greek Linos song. His explanation of its name 'Maneros' is based on what Egyptians told him (2.79.3): the song comes from a dirge first sung by the Egyptians in honour of Maneros, the only son of their first king, who died prematurely. It has been suggested that

³⁷ Brooks 1908; Brown 1892; Evans 1963; Armayor 1985; Garbrecht 1987; the comment by Lloyd in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007; Romm 2006, 189.

³⁸ For the religious life of all these Egyptian sanctuaries, Rutherford 2005.

³⁹ See the comments by Asheri in Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007.

the name of the song is due to an acoustic imitation of the verse *ma-n-hra*, ‘come back to us’, but Herodotus says nothing of this.⁴⁰

6 Θῶμα at ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους

The behaviour of both Greeks and Persians is also a frequent object of interest for Herodotus. Some cases are of private behaviour, others of people’s public behaviour or ideology, especially political. I pick out only two such instances, his anecdotal narrative about the Corinthian Cypselidai (5.92β–η) and his account of the Persian rebels after they had defeated the Magi (3.80–82).

Herodotus’ interest in barbarians’ democratic beliefs comes across again in his narrative of the democracies set up by Mardonius in the Ionian cities. According to Diodorus (10.21), Mardonius’ democratic policy belongs with the wider peaceful reforms of Artaphernes after the suppression of the Ionian revolt. Herodotus characterises Mardonius’ policy as a marvellous confirmation of Otanes’ advocacy of democracy for Persia in the discussion of the seven Persian rebels against the Magi:

ὥς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπῖκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἔρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτά Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὥς χρὲν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις.

On his way past Asia, Mardonius came to Ionia, and at this point I have something to report which those Greeks who do not believe that Otanes recommended to the Seven Persians conspirators that Persia should become a democracy will find very astonishing; for here Mardonius deposed all the Ionian tyrants and set up democracies in the cities.⁴¹

Herodotus 6.43.3

Herodotus’ insistence that the constitutional debate in Persia was real shows his conviction that belief in democracy as a better system of government should not be considered exclusively Greek, but it could also be attributed to the Persians, who were βάρβαροι and enemies of the Greeks.⁴²

⁴⁰ On the connection of Linos to Maneros, see recently Karanika 2014, 127–132 (with a (syn)critical discussion of all literary sources). Cf. also Hornblower 1947; Hartwig 1998; Burkert 2013, 198.

⁴¹ Robinson 2011, 141–142.

⁴² See the thoughtful observation by Flower 2006, 279, on ‘the mentalité of sixth-century Persia’. For Herodotus’ contribution to our understanding of ancient political thought, see Forsdyke 2006.

Blessed the man who has come to possess knowledge through inquiry, setting out neither to harm citizens nor to do unjust acts (5) but contemplating the ageless order of immortal nature, the way in which it came into being, and where from and how. Men such as this are never attended by interest in shameful deeds.⁴⁵

Euripides, fr. 910 Kannicht

This combination of cosmic wisdom and ethical behaviour does not exist in Herodotus' work, where human ethical behaviour resists wholly logical interpretation. Proof lies in the fates of Croesus and Xerxes, who are respectively the first and the last poles of the conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians: Croesus, who was the first to impose taxes on the Greek Ionians, and Xerxes for his (for the Persians) catastrophic imperialist ambitions against the Greeks that led to his defeat at Salamis. Herodotus made Croesus the interlocutor of Solon and the recipient of a Greek idea of human happiness. Xerxes became the symbol of the shattered *hybris* of a powerful man. He violated natural order by bridging the Hellespont and cutting the Athos peninsula, and he was duly punished by his expedition's total defeat in the naval combat at Salamis. However, what forebodes – and interprets – Xerxes' fate is the irrational phantom of a dream that dismissed his hesitations and forced him to undertake an expedition he himself did not want (7.12–18). Although Xerxes' dream is nowhere characterized as θῶμα, one may think of it as one of the great marvels of Herodotus' narrative, taking account of the writer's statement in his preface, where the reason for the wars between the Greeks and the barbarians is placed in the most prominent place of a passage that appears to be held by the terms ιστορίη and θῶμα.⁴⁶

Taking the position of man in the universe in his time as an ever-present point of reference, Herodotus collected what happened in the spirit of rationalism that was well-established in his wider πατρίς, Ionia.⁴⁷ But he elaborated on it as a literary artist and composed an extended prose narrative where the idea of divine envy reinforces the irrational factors that shape human lives. It is man, however, who emerges as the creator of innumerable works and as the keeper of knowledge, in particular of specialised knowledge. Later, of course, Herodotus'

⁴⁵ Transl. by Collard 2004, 296–297.

⁴⁶ See Thomas 2000, 212.

⁴⁷ Thomas 2000, 16: 'Herodotus can also be seen more enthusiastically and more positively as within the milieu of Ionian science – that is natural philosophy and medicine – and part of Ionian science of the mid and late fifth century'; see in general Thomas 2006 on Herodotus' 'intellectual milieu'. In this context we may note the link of Ionian philosophers and Herodotus with medical writing (cf. the presence of term ιστορίη in *Ancient Medicine* 20), which is fully investigated by Demont in this volume, pp. 175–196.

exceptional narratives were thought of as portraying marvels (θώματα) as something irrational, which is indeed the overall impression they give.⁴⁸ But the investigative mode of ἱστορέειν gradually led to the formulation of the scientific sense of ἱστορία as ‘knowledge’ and to the literary definition of his narrative as ἱστορία. We may therefore think of Herodotus as the man who formulated the general meaning of ἱστορία (inquiry / study), which was grammatically formed from the verb ἱστορέειν but which epistemologically conceptualised the result of θαυμάζειν.

In the fourth century BC both Plato and Aristotle attribute the origins of philosophy to θαυμάζειν, while the word ἱστορία appears in their texts with the meaning of either ‘inquiry/knowledge’ or ‘historiography’.⁴⁹ Thus in the *Theaetetus* 155d Plato claims that the feeling of θαυμάζειν is the very origin of philosophy (μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη, ‘this feeling of wonder is very much the mark of a philosopher; for wonder is the one and only beginning of philosophy’). Aristotle thinks that θαυμάζειν is the impulse that drives men to philosophical inquiry (*Metaphysics* 982b13: διὰ γὰρ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν, ‘it is through wonder that men both begin now, and originally began, to philosophise’). Closely to this idea, Aristotle also argues that ‘philosophy consists in the knowledge of many things that excite wonder’ (*Rhetoric* 1371a32–33: ... ἔστι δ’ ἡ σοφία πολλῶν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπιστήμη); moreover, ‘learning things is the greatest pleasure not only for philosophers but also in the same way for all other men, though they share this pleasure to a small degree’ (*Poetics* 4, 1448b13–14 μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ βραχὺ τι κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ).

Above all, Aristotle refers to Herodotus in his well-known contrast of poetry with history in the *Poetics* (9, 1451a36–1451b11). In this passage Aristotle claims that poetry is more philosophical and important than history, because poetry tells general truths (τὰ καθόλου) while history is about particulars (τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον); and he mentions Herodotus as an example of the work of the historian with the paradoxical suggestion that his work would still be a kind of history even if it were transcribed in verse (εἴη γὰρ ἂν τὰ Ἡροδότου εἰς μέτρα τεθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον ἂν εἴη ἱστορία τις μετὰ μέτρου ἢ ἄνευ μέτρων). One might think that Aristotle’s argument here restricts the philosophical importance of Herodotus’

48 Particularly in the Hellenistic period, for which, see Priestley 2014.

49 One may also add some rare cases from oratory; e.g. Dem. 18.144: μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν (‘that will be of great benefit to you in order to understand (our) public affairs’).

θαυμάζειν. But this does not cohere with the main idea of the passage, that history is about particulars. As we have seen, Herodotus' *Histories* show that it is through the investigation of particular *thomata* that Herodotus himself or his characters launch the process that ends in the acquisition of knowledge.⁵⁰ Aristotle's remark about history in the *Poetics*, therefore, does not affect the special importance of Herodotus' θαυμάζειν, which seems to anticipate the later philosophical presentation of θαυμάζειν as an impulse to philosophical inquiry.⁵¹

50 Further discussion of the philosophical issues arising from this well-known passage of Aristotle about poetry and history would go beyond the scope of this article.

51 See Priestley 2014, 68–69.

Maria G. Xanthou

Χρυσός, χρόνος, and κλέος: objects of gold, cognition, ambiguity, and authority in Herodotus' Lydian *logos*

1 Introduction

The proem of Herodotus' *Histories* features a dual programmatic concern with actions (τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων) and works (or achievements) as finished products of human activity (ἔργα).¹ Ever since Immerwahr carried further Regenbogen's² interpretation of ἔργα and expanded its lexical content to include not only past achievements but also things worthy of remembrance,³ we have come to think of Herodotus' preoccupation with objects (1.1 ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά) as one of the major principles underpinning his historiographical method.⁴ In that sense, objects may act as signifiers that bear meaning, deliver messages, invite interpretation, and elicit the reactions of their recipients.⁵

So far classical scholars have investigated the use of objects (ἔργα) in Herodotus' *Histories* from three perspectives: (a) operating as mnemotechnic devices⁶

I would like to thank Ewen Bowie and the anonymous referee for reading and commenting on an earlier draft. My thanks also go to Roger Brock for the timely offer of his 2003 article on Herodotus. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the academic support of the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC, and its director Greg Nagy, as this article was completed during my appointment as CHS Associate in 2016–2017. Finally, I would like to dedicate it to E.L. Bowie and Greg Nagy for being constant sources of scholarly inspiration. All shortcomings remain mine.

1 My abridged version of Krischer's 1965, 159–160, tripartite division of the Herodotean programmatic agenda, as accepted by Lateiner 1989, 14; Nagy 1990, 217–218; Bakker 2002, 6. I use Zalin's 2016, 10, translation of the two terms.

2 Regenbogen 1930, 202–248: “‘Werken’, die sowohl Taten, wie etwa auch Bau- und Kunstwerke, technische Leistungen und alles dergleichen sein können”; Zalin 2016, 71. For a list of different interpretations of ἔργα, see Tuite 2006, p. 2 n. 9: for ἔργα as monuments, see Stein 1883, 1–2; Diels 1887, 440; Jacoby 1913, cols. 333–334; for ἔργα as deeds, see Schwartz 1929, 20 n. 1; Focke 1927, 1–2; Legrand 1932, *ad loc.* (Hdt. 1.1); Erbse 1956, 218; Cobet 1971, 30; Grant 1983, 294–296.

3 Immerwahr 1960, 262–265; Dewald 1993, 56; Bowie 2018, 72.

4 David 2006, 1–13.

5 Hollmann 1998, 158–187 and *id.* 2011, 176–210.

6 David 2006, 69–89.

(b) acting as sign-vehicles, thus generating and conveying multiple cultural connotations⁷ (c) creating a reason for an explanatory narrative.⁸ My view is that the three perspectives generally intertwine with one another. How this intertwining works in practice is a question yet to be considered. Hence my intention is to offer a meaningful answer to it by exploring these perspectives in the framework of χρόνος ('time', cf. τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα) and κλέος ('fame', 'glory', cf. ἀκλεᾶ), two concepts explicitly mentioned in the proem and circumscribing the programmatic framework of Herodotus' *Histories*.⁹ These two concepts constitute opposing forces, in the yin and yang fashion: the destructive force of time causes human achievements to fade, to lose colour and lustre, thus forfeiting their κλέος.¹⁰

Despite the unmistakable Homeric overtones of his proem, the explicit correlation of χρόνος and κλέος articulate Herodotus' breach with the tradition of ascribing authority to the Muses. In heroic and didactic epic this authority stems from their capacity to 'know everything and be everywhere' (*Il.* 2.485) and to tell 'about the past, the present, and the future' (*Hes. Th.* 38).¹¹ In the case of Herodotus' ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις, its empirical method secures κλέος, opposing the destructive force of time. This empirical method, if interpreted as 'enactment' of an enquiry, involving selection, discrimination, and research into disparate source material,¹² has an inherently dialogic nature: ἱστορίη, in the sense of seeking for an αἰτίη, is an act of negotiation insofar as χρόνος sets an inextricable limitation on this search by affecting data and rendering remote events impossible to recover.¹³ Based on this limitation imposed by time upon the search for αἰτίαι, the discriminating investigator is invited to reject or accept different opinions (διαφόρους λόγους, 4.81.1) corresponding to or contradicting one another, and, ultimately, to form his or her own opinion.¹⁴ Herodotus' empirical enquiry is his means of navigating through the heterogeneity of traditions about different times

7 Nagy 1990, 203–217; Hollmann 1998, 172–186 and *id.* 2011, 192–209; Tuite 2006, 2–7.

8 Zalin 2016, 73.

9 Immerwahr 1960, 262–263; Bakker 2002, 10; Morley 2011, 217; for the various interpretations of the term ἀπόδεξις and the three categories they fall into, see Moles 1999, 47–48.

10 Krischer 1965, 159–167, esp. 162; Erbse 1992, 123–125; Moles 1999, 49–53; Bakker 2002, 27; Zalin 2016, 25–26; for an illustration of Herodotus' programmatic concern for contingency and mutability in the closure of the proem cf. *Hdt.* 1.5.4 τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένουσαν ('knowing, then, that human prosperity never abides in the same place'); Grethlein 2013, 212–213.

11 Darbo-Peschanski 1987, 23–24; Scodel 2001, 109, 114; Cobet 2002, 389.

12 Bakker 2002, 28.

13 Shimron 1973, 45–51; Dewald 1987, 163; Bakker 2002, 18; Fowler 2007, 32; Zalin 2016, 22.

14 Bakker 2002, 18, 23.

and spaces. Its aim is to integrate these traditions within a particular narrative (λόγος), and to organise time and space as the basic dimensions of historical recording.¹⁵ Therefore, his focus on objects underpins his overarching empirical method, thus illustrating the meaning of the phrase ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις as the product of enquiry enacted through autopsy.¹⁶ In other words, it involves ‘critical examination of the opinion of those who have seen’, which results in the conflicting accounts of works, deeds, and achievements as ‘signs by which the existence of players in the historical process can be remembered’.¹⁷ His focus on objects illustrates the meaning of his phrase ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις as the product of an enacted enquiry, the enactment of which requires ‘not only the accomplishment of great deeds, but also their recording’.¹⁸ In that sense, objects serve as hinges on which a historical narrative can be hung, a narrative which secures the recording of conflicting accounts of deeds, something that is a great accomplishment in itself. My chapter takes its cue from this principle, along with the various ways in which it has recently been explored by four classical scholars.¹⁹

2 Objects and their purpose in the *Histories*

In my introduction, I brought χρόνος and κλέος into my discussion as two contrasting elements marking Herodotus’ empirical method and its departure from the Homeric model of ascribing authority solely to the Muses. There are cases where that model anticipates the Herodotean:

μη' μὲν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἔσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι

It will certainly not be without great effort and great fame that I perish; no, that will happen after I have accomplished a great deed, for people of the future to hear about.

Homer, *Il.* 22.304–305 (transl. Bakker 2002, 27)

However, great deeds carry their own κλέος, as Egbert Bakker²⁰ reminds us, perpetuated unproblematically through epic poetry under the authority of the

¹⁵ Emmons 1990, 1–7; Cobet 2002, 388–389; Lateiner 1986, 1–20.

¹⁶ Bakker 2002, 27–29; Węcowski 2004, 154.

¹⁷ Bakker 2002, 26.

¹⁸ Bakker 2002, 28–30, esp. 28; Węcowski 2004, 156–158.

¹⁹ David 2006, 69–89; Tuite 2006, 11–12, 60–75; Bassi 2014, 173–196; Zalin 2016, 70–92.

²⁰ Bakker 2002, 27.

Muse(s). The dichotomy between the Muses, who see and hear everything, and poet and audience, who only hear the κλέος and know nothing, as illustrated in the proem to the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.484–493), probably alludes to the poet's anxiety concerning the relation between the accuracy of a story and the reason for telling it, its tradition and its occasion, its veracity and the audience's acceptance of it.²¹ The invocation of the Homeric Muse, who represents and mystifies oral tradition,²² secures this relation. The Herodotean method abstains from this Homeric model of authority as it problematises the empirical fact that mutually contradictory stories circulated and thus encourages its audience to think about these alternative versions of traditions. In effect, it assumes the audience's awareness of tradition as a source of information, denied by Homeric epic.²³ The components of χρόνος and κλέος are significant for my discussion, as both have an impact on circulating stories: any great achievement or deed, whether intellectual, factual or material, will eventually face the corrosive power of time if it is not properly recorded, and if an audience is not invited to apply enquiry to these contradictory stories it will be unable to exercise its judgment. The materiality of recording proves extremely important, whether ἐξίτηλα (τῷ χρόνῳ) is translated in its genealogical sense of 'extinct' (cf. 5.39.2), pointing to funerary monuments, or in the sense of 'fading', which would contrast the durability of Herodotus' work with the transient nature of material artifacts.²⁴ In the case of the Lydian λόγος, Herodotus exalts the expedient materiality of recording objects by reserving the qualification of 'worthy of seeing, recalling, description, or reckoning' for Gyges and Alyattes as prominent members of the Lydian dynasty and for their monuments.²⁵

So far I have touched briefly upon the vast topic of Herodotus' use of objects. In this chapter, I argue that he uses objects as vehicles or tools in his attempt to establish at an early stage the validity of his method, i.e. ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις as enacted enquiry. Thus my working hypothesis is that statues, tripods, and other offerings in Lydian *logos* are the tangible signs that inform the Herodotean narrative at two levels: at a macroscopic level the link between the Delphic oracle and the dedications of material offerings, usually of gold, by the Lydian kings encapsulates the key role of Delphi in foreign politics between the Greek city

21 Scodel 2001, 110–112.

22 Scodel 2001, 112.

23 Scodel 2001, 114.

24 Myres 1952, 67; Svenbro 1993, 149–150; Moles 1999, 49–51; Bakker 2002, 27–28.

25 Schepens 1980, 50; Buxton 2002, 147–148; David 2006, 169; Tuite 2006, 127 n. 52; cf. ἄξιος (Hdt. 1.14.1 μνήμην ἔχειν, 1.32.1, 7), ἀξιοθέητος (1.14.3), ἀξιαπήγητος (1.16.2).

states and the vast eastern empires, as illustrated in its role during the Persian wars;²⁶ at a microscopic level, the enumeration and illustration of material artifacts and monuments in the narrative of the Lydian *logos* lends reliability to the narrative itself²⁷ as the product of an enquiry into heterogeneous traditions.

This argument is not new, and its exploration has recently yielded some insightful views on Herodotus' use of objects. Donald Lateiner recognised that Herodotus uses objects in various forms of non-verbal communication. Lateiner also included objects and tokens as another means by which the historian creates lines of communication both between characters and between himself and his audience. Carolyn Dewald established that Herodotus' use of objects constitutes a method of conveying additional and at times multivalent meanings in relations between characters and in his message to his audience or readers.²⁸ Alexander Hollmann examined the semiotics of Herodotean objects and argued that Herodotus encodes meaning into objects, transforming them into 'sign vehicles', for communication between characters.²⁹

Along these lines, my suggestion is that through this enumeration and meticulous documentation of artifacts and offerings, chiefly the dedications of Lydian kings, the author underlines the conflict between fate and the possession of riches, the latter being no secure measure for avoiding the former. These signs are not used as a piece of 'precise evidence' in the way Thucydides uses an ἀκριβὲς σημεῖον,³⁰ i.e. as evaluative signs that give no reason for doubt. Though Thucydides has earlier suggested that poetic tradition cannot provide that kind of evidence, having questioned Homer's capacity to provide that kind of evidence by correcting Homer's account of the size of the Achaean fleet (1.10.3),³¹ his reference to the Νεῶν κατάλογος provides the earliest link between enumeration of objects in the wider frame of a literary narrative and its use as evidence through historical methodology and even literary criticism. The Νεῶν κατάλογος provides us with both a unique enumeration of objects and a textual enclave *par excellence*, a place where the narrative is suspended. In addition, it gives us the first literary use of objects as signs that determine the factual accuracy of an account. So, despite the established view of Homeric influence on Herodotean narrative,

²⁶ Flower 1991, 57–77, esp. 59–70.

²⁷ David 2006, 16–17.

²⁸ Lateiner 1989; Dewald 1993, 65–70.

²⁹ Hollmann 1998, 172–186; for a succinct literature review, see Tuite 2006, 4–5.

³⁰ Thuc. 1.10.1–2 οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἂν τις σημεῖω χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει.

³¹ Reynolds 2009, 334.

expressly remarked by the author of *On the Sublime* and by Hermogenes,³² one should also take into account their methodological affinities regarding their cognitive structure of their material, which also had an eye to its oral performance.

Herodotus' use of signs differs from Thucydides' in its use of what can be called the associative mode, a technique related to his use of λέξις εἰρομένη.³³ Another of Herodotus' major contributions to Greek literature is his being the first writer of an extended prose narrative to develop a prose style characterised by extended periods and rhetorical figures (such as anaphora, antithesis, and ascending length of cola).³⁴ He uses an analogous technique to transform objects into repositories of added meaning by two opposing methods, repetition and diachronic representation.³⁵ On the one hand, repetition is a context-based technique, which exploits the context of an unchanged object – i.e. its setting, the action of the narrative, and characters as agents of the plot – to make the object evoke a particular connotation or meaning.³⁶ In that sense, it is the context that shapes the meaning of an object. On the other hand, substitution is based on the exchange of the object for one of the same type. In this case, Herodotus arranges a series of images of the object against a consistent background.³⁷ Accordingly, he employs this metonymic mode in order to explore diachronically the changing presentation of an object. In general, for both methods (repetition and diachronic presentation), Herodotus uses the subtle change in the object(s) and the resulting alteration in its or their connotation to build up a complex message encapsulated in the object(s)³⁸ and also to help relate his historical narrative to its listeners or readers through an associative mode of information-processing – a mode that appeals to attention, memory, perception, and learning as skills for understanding the narrative pattern of his *Histories*.

32 *De sublimitate* 13.3; *De ideis* II.421 Spengel = 2.12.18–20 (pp. 229–230) Patillon; Lateiner 1989, 19.

33 Lateiner 1989, 19; Brock 2003, 13. For λέξις εἰρομένη, see Arist. *Rhet.* 3.9.2.1409a.

34 Lateiner 1989, 19; Brock 2003, 5–7.

35 Tuite 2006, 59.

36 Tuite 2006, 59.

37 Tuite 2006, 59.

38 Tuite 2006, 59.

3 Radiant gold: statues, tripods, and other offerings stored in treasures in Delphi

Dotted with descriptions of dedicatory offerings, mostly in Delphi³⁹, the Lydian *logos* arguably excels in radiance, as these offerings are often made of gold, hence their splendour.⁴⁰ Apart from their significance as tangible objects of religious piety and artistic sophistication, their radiance underscores their materiality, articulated in metal and in dedicatory discourse. These descriptions comprise textual enclaves, which seem to suspend the narrative, if only briefly. In a sense, then, Herodotus punctuates his tales of Lydian kings with catalogue-like notations of their votive offerings to Delphi.⁴¹

Detlev Fehling cast reasonable doubt on ‘happy faith in the historian’s trustworthiness’, as Stephanie West put it.⁴² Before going any further I add an important *caveat* regarding the construction of my argument: my analysis takes account of Robin Osborne’s disclaimer on archaeological material, texts, and dedicatory practice: ‘Texts cannot substitute for the archaeological material because they are necessarily and inevitably partial. ... [t]hey may highlight the unusual and ignore the usual – as Herodotus, who is, after all, interested in political history, picks out exceptional offerings at Delphi by the Lydian king Croesus in the sixth century BC but says nothing of the routine offerings of Greeks who came to consult the Delphic oracle’.⁴³

In Greek and Roman authors, gold is inextricably linked with Lydia, a major geographical area of its provenance.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the touchstone, the βάσανος

39 The modern equivalent to ancient Delphi is Switzerland as they have many things in common: mountainous terrain, the concept of confederacy (*Confoederatio Helvetica*-Amphictyonic League), political neutrality, geographical centrality (continental Europe-mainland Greece), and financial resilience due to banks and treasuries.

40 Forty-six out of one hundred fifty-seven matches of the word χρυσός and its derivatives occur in the first book of the *Histories*, while the number of matches drops to twelve in the second book, twenty six in the third, twenty one in the fourth, three in the fifth, six in the sixth, seventeen in the seventh, seven in the eighth, nineteen in the ninth book; cf. Powell, 1938 s.vv. χρύσεος, and χρυσός, and David 2006, 287–296; for a list of the literary evidence, see also Parke 1984, 209–211; Buxton 2002, 1–13, esp. 7, 174–190; Kurke 1999, 57; Kaplan 2006, 130–134.

41 David 2006, 160.

42 Fehling 1971, 98 n. 4; West 1985, 279.

43 Osborne 2004, 6.

44 For a compilation of literary testimonia, see Pedley 1972, 18; Archil. *fr.* 19 W Γύγω τοῦ πολυχρύσου; Pedley 1972, 56, *Aes. Pers.* 45 πολυχρυσοὶ Σάρδεις; Ramage 2000, 14–20. In antiquity, the Pactolus river in Lydia was famous for bringing the gold dust down from the mountain

which tests the true quality of gold, is also a natural phenomenon with quasi-magical qualities, believed by Greeks to occur only in Lydia⁴⁵ and thus called ‘the Lydian stone’.⁴⁶ This association is attested as early as Bacchylides, *fr.* 14 M.⁴⁷

4 The earlier group of Mermnad dedications: connotation or meaning-alteration by repetition and substitution in time and space⁴⁸

The votive materials visible during Herodotus’ lifetime in the 5th c. BC and the stories attached to them may be regarded as very closely connected. I suggest that for Herodotus these votive materials bind these stories together but also serve as anchors for the collective memory of his audience or readership and help them relate these stories to the votives whose reputation was widespread on the Greek mainland and beyond. So, although Harriet Flower suggested almost twenty years ago that Delphi provides the overarching scheme for Herodotus’ history of Lydian relations with Greeks, the framing narrative for numerous digressive tales in Lydian *logos*, a comment by Christopher Pelling urges us to think in more interactive terms about the relation between Lydian kings and the Greek mainland: ‘Lydia is an in-between country [between east and west], as has been already suggested by ... Croesus is a king who is fascinated by Greece, a king who welcomes Greek sages in his court, ..., who prizes Greek insight, Greek gods, and Greek

Tmolus (Hdt. 1.93.1, Ovid. *Met.* 11.142, Strab. 13.1.23, Plin. *HN* 5.110); cf. Kaletsch s.v. Pactolus, in *Der Neue Pauly* [consulted online on 24 February 2017 <http://dx.doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e904030>], Ramage 2000, 19–20. Herodotus (6.125.4–5) records Alcmaeon’s falling upon a heap of Lydian gold-dust millennia before Scrooge McDuck’s (©Disney) signature dive into gold coins.

⁴⁵ Kurke 1999, 57.

⁴⁶ Cf. Theophr. *De Lap.* 4.45–47 θαυμαστή δὲ φύσις καὶ τῆς βασιανίζουσης τὸν χρυσόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν τῷ πυρὶ δύναμιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δοκιμάζει. ... εὐρίσκονται δὲ τοιαῦται πᾶσαι ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Τμώλῳ; Theocr. *Id.* 12.36–37; Plin. *HN* 33.126; Pollux *Onom.* 7.102; Hesychius s.vv. βασιανίτης λίθος, χρυσῆς λίθος.

⁴⁷ Λυδία μὲν γὰρ λίθος | μανύει χρυσόν, ἀνδρῶν δ’ ἀρετὰν σοφία τε | παγκρατὴς τ’ ἐλέγχει | ἀλάθεια; cf. Kurke 1999, 58.

⁴⁸ I borrow these terms from Tuite 2006, 99; for the division between two groups of dedicatory objects, see Kosmetatou 2013, 65.

friendship. Herodotus' description of Asia begins with the kingdom that is nearest to Greece, one known to Greek poets five generations before Croesus (1.12.2), and one whose customs are extremely similar to those of the Greeks (1.94.1).⁴⁹

Despite focusing on Croesus as the first aggressor in the conflict between East and West (1.5.3),⁵⁰ Herodotus reveals that Midas, son of Gordias and king of Phrygia, was the first non-Greek ruler of an Anatolian kingdom to dedicate (in his case the royal throne he sat upon while administering justice, 1.14.2–3), thus initiating a long history of dedicatory offerings in the Delphic sanctuary.⁵¹ The likeliest, though *ex post facto*, explanation for Herodotus choosing to qualify Midas' throne as the first recorded early dedication is an implicit connection between the god of the oracle and royal justice.⁵² Herodotus qualifies this dedication as ἀξιοθέητον, 'a marvel to see', impressive due to its costly material and skilled workmanship, assimilating it to the dedications of Gyges in which he embeds his mention of it.⁵³ The historian stresses further this correlation by referring to the common space, the treasury of Cypselus (1.14.2–3), where the throne stood along with Gyges' six gold craters and other gold and silver, known under the collective name Γυγάδας. His use of tenses, namely aorist and present, is notable: on the one hand, the aorist tense (ἀνέθηκε), when Midas' and Gyges' offerings are listed, not only describes an act about which Herodotus had learned, most probably through oral reports, but also accentuates that act of dedication; on the other hand, his use of the present tense emphasises that these offerings he had seen still survive in his own time.⁵⁴ The implied survival of Midas' and Gyges' offerings creates a sense of permanence, while pointing towards the contrasting concepts of mutability and durability, which are further explored in the Lydian *logos* in connection with the principles of time and glory (κλέος).⁵⁵

49 Pelling 2006, 172. n. 111 referring to Benardete 1969, 13–4; Schneeweiss 1975, 164–65; Lang 1984, 3; Lateiner 1989, 39, 43, 122; Pelling 1997; Heuss 1973, 390.

50 1.5.3 ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας...

51 Flower 1991, 59; Kaplan 2006, 130.

52 Kaplan 2002, 140–141; Buxton 2002, 27–28 nn. 20–22 offers a well-informed discussion of the archaeological data; for the date of king Midas, his identification as king of Phrygia in eighth c. BC with the Midas of the legendary tales, and his throne, see Muscarella 1997, 97; Muscarella 1989, 333 and 335; Roller 1983, 299–313; DeVries 2002, 275; for a sharp distinction between the three Midases, see Asheri 2007, 85–86.

53 Kaplan 2002, 130; Buxton 2002, 28; Tuite 2006, 127 n. 52.

54 Naiden 1999, 148; Kosmetatou 2013, 66.

55 I would like to thank E.L. Bowie for pointing out to me that the first occurrence of κλέος in Herodotus' *Histories* is at 7.220.2.

Next in line is Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty, who is also the first Lydian and the second Anatolian ruler (after the Phrygian Midas) to dedicate luxurious objects at Delphi. He initiates a tradition consolidated by his successors Alyattes and Croesus, offering six golden craters weighing thirty talents (each?) and a multitude of silver ἀναθήματα, a princely *tour de force* blending Anatolian wealth and pious devotion (1.14).⁵⁶

τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἐξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. 2. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεῖ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστί ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω, Φρυγίης βασιλέα. 3. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέτητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος, τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

Thus the Mermnads robbed the Heraclids of the sovereignty and took it for themselves. Having gotten it, Gyges sent many offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there; and besides the silver, he dedicated a hoard of gold, among which six golden bowls are the offerings especially worthy of mention. 2. These weigh thirty talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians; although in truth it is not the treasury of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner whom we know who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. 3. For Midas too made an offering: namely, the royal seat on which he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is. It is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians 'Gygian' after its dedicator.⁵⁷

This list of extraordinary gold dedications, the first in Herodotus' *Histories*, concludes the transition of power from the Heraclids to the Mermnads (1.7.1) through Gyges' murder of Candaules, the last of the Heraclid rulers (1.13.1–2). The list also serves as an *ouverture* to the prominence of Lydian kings at Delphi and attests Gyges' proverbial wealth, achieving almost legendary status and becoming the stuff of folktales: Herodotus' direct reference to Archilochus and his link of the two names, Gyges and Archilochus (1.12.2 Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος ... ἐμνήσθη), points in this direction.⁵⁸ In the next paragraph, Herodotus affirms the

⁵⁶ Buxton 2002, ix; David 2006, 160 n. 2.

⁵⁷ In all passages I follow A.D. Godley's translation (adapted).

⁵⁸ The authenticity of Herodotus' reference to Archilochus has been contested, with most editors bracketing the text; for a brief discussion, see Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 83–84, and for a

possession of power by Gyges and its confirmation by the Delphic oracle, which is introduced explicitly for the first time in his narrative (1.13.1). His use of the term *χρηστήριον* is notable, as the word includes the lexical meanings of (a) the seat of an oracle, (b) the oracular response and (c) the offering to the oracle made by those consulting it.⁵⁹ In this passage the word seems to refer to the seat of the Delphic oracle; however, one cannot exclude the possibility that there is a convergence of all three lexical meanings and that the word evokes all three.

The micro-structure of this passage offers some insight into the link between Gyges, Archilochus, and Herodotus' semantic manipulation of *χρηστήριον*. His mention of Archilochus' literary authority not only provides a contemporary factual attestation of Gyges' existence⁶⁰, but also establishes an association between the imagery of metallurgy and an analogy between authenticity and forgery.⁶¹ This direct link between literary texts, imaginary associations, and factual data alludes to Herodotus's own work as a refined and welded source of historical data.⁶² The author rounds off the evocation of Archilochus' literary authority (δέ) with an affirmation of Gyges' almost involuntary usurpation of power and its confirmation by the Delphic oracle. The paratactic conjunction of the two clauses underlines the equivalence between usurpation and confirmation. Herodotus describes succinctly the aftermath of Gyges' usurpation of power and concludes the longer narrative with Gyges' largesse to Delphi (1.14.1). He focuses, albeit without precision, on the extravagant number of silver and gold offerings, describing them by the litotes οὐκ ὀλίγα and stressing the number that were of silver by the superlative *πλεῖστα* (1.14.1). He then notes the immense quantity (*ἄπλετον*) of gold offerings, and cites with painstaking precision the features and dedicatory space of the six golden craters: their weight of thirty talents,⁶³ where they are set up and stood (in the treasury of Cypselus, son of Eetion), and the collective name

reappraisal of the textual problem, and defence of authenticity, see Rotstein 2010, 188–201, esp. 189 n. 25.

59 See LSJ s.v. *χρηστήριον*.

60 Kaplan 2002, 130; Rotstein 2010, 194–196, 222; a direct allusion to the epithet *πολύχρυσος* ('rich in gold', *fr.* 19 W. οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγῳ τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, | οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίωμα | θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἔρέω τυραννίδος· | ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν) seems compelling.

61 Kurke 1995, 36–64; 1999, 45–59.

62 Ford 2006, 4–5; Rotstein 2010, 196.

63 Buxton 2002, 3 thinks it unclear whether the weight reported by Herodotus refers to each or collectively to all six bowls.

of Gyges' silver and golden offerings, Γυγάδας, presumably information from local guides.⁶⁴

So, in a way, Herodotus glosses the poetic adjective πολυχρύσου and offers an ironic version of Gyges' usurpation and confirmation in power.⁶⁵ He also elaborates on the link between literary and material sources. In addition, the same link is established between the phrase ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου (1.13.1), which as mentioned earlier denotes 'the seat of the oracle', i.e. the geographical setting as headquarters and the centre of the sanctuary,⁶⁶ and Midas' offering, namely the royal seat on which he sat to pronounce judgement. Gyges is initially tagged as the first foreigner to set up offerings to Delphi (1.14.2). But his priority is ironically undermined when Herodotus introduces the king of Phrygia, Midas the son of Gordias, as the first among the barbarians to offer dedications to Delphi: οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίειω ... (1.14.2). Midas' throne is noted by Herodotus as ἀξιοθέητον (1.14.3) and the kings' offerings are brought together as Herodotus stresses their common features: the gold they are made of, their opulence, the shared space both stood in. Gyges' offerings frames Midas' original act of dedication. Herodotus further underscores the originality of this act by recording the original purpose of such a luxurious seat: the performance of the highest regal duty, to administer justice. So, in a way, and at another level, the Delphic oracle's power to legitimise Gyges' almost involuntary accession to the Lydian throne⁶⁷ is further corroborated by the nature of Midas' ἀξιοθέητον offering, once used for the king's most important duty. The Phrygian king's dedication has the following anaclastic effect: the properties invested on Midas' seat are appropriated and exercised by the Delphic oracle. Thus, serving as a metonymy of power and justice, Midas' throne reinforces Delphi's authority to legitimise Gyges' usurpation of power. It lends Delphi the capacity as a sanctuary to offer divine advice and acknowledges it as a proper space to frame a dedicatory object, once used to administer justice and exercise authority. The capacity of Midas' kingly status and the properties of his throne are transferred to the sanctuary. Hence, the notions of dedication and possession of an object as a property and a votive offering are tied together.

⁶⁴ Asheri 2007, 85; Buxton 2002, 3; Tuite 2006, 127.

⁶⁵ For the Herodotean irony, see Kurke 1999, 60.

⁶⁶ By 'seat' neither LSJ nor I imply the actual seat where the High Priestess of the oracle sat but rather the (epi)centre of Delphi as religious sanctuary and institution; cf. Hes. *fr.* 240.6 M.–W., Hdt. 1.47.1.

⁶⁷ David 2006, 161–162.

Tuite's study of object-manipulation and meaning-alteration through context by repetition and substitution in a diachronic context illustrates how Herodotus 'reifies different phases' of the Mermnad dynasty.⁶⁸ Tuite's theoretical scheme corresponding to Herodotus' proem suggests that the historian uses two components: (a) the repetition of objects, κρατῆρες and a treasury building θησαυρός (both ἔργα), and (b) the passage of time (χρόνος) to illustrate the opposition of the conceptual pairs contingency-mutability and durability-fixedness.⁶⁹ In other words, Herodotus objectifies time and space, and evaluates the achievements of the Mermnad dynasty against these parameters. The evaluation constitutes a pattern whose alteration or interruption signals a change for the worse in the dynasty's fortunes. This change for the worse is correlated with the disparity in worth between Croesus' and his predecessors' dedications. This disparity is also related to how the Lydian kings' craters endured the passage of time: Croesus' dedications underwent change in the dedicatory setting where they stood and in the material they were made of, whereas Gyges' craters were displayed up to Herodotus' time as and where they were initially erected.⁷⁰ In that sense gold, in that it has the property of endurance, translates into diachronic persistence.

A different point also emerges from the language of Herodotus' evaluation: he foregrounds his personal autopsy by using terms such as 'worthy of seeing', 'worthy of recalling', and by offering careful descriptions and precise enumeration.⁷¹

5 Croesus' golden dedications: time, physical decay, and fate

Soon, Herodotus focuses on the last member of the Mermnad lineage, Croesus, who serves as a stock praise-figure for gift-exchange.⁷² Croesus, Gyges' descendant, is the last member of the Mermnad dynasty to dedicate golden offerings to

⁶⁸ Tuite 2006, 34–36.

⁶⁹ Tuite 2006, 128–130; Zalin 2016, 25.

⁷⁰ Tuite 2006, 128.

⁷¹ Tuite 2006, 127.

⁷² Kurke 1999, 130–131; Herodotus' portrait of Croesus, as already noted by Kurke 1999, 143, is 'riven with ideological tensions and contradictions, multiply problematized and destabilized in the history's shifting narrative. On occasion, Herodotus seems to offer us the unproblematic gift-exchange figure of the praise tradition: thus we get the extended rendition of his fabulous dedi-

Delphi. Herodotus' interest in his offerings is much more pronounced, possibly owing to the number of local informants' elaborate tales about Croesus.⁷³ In contrast to Gyges, his predecessor, who asked for and, consequently, was awarded the oracle's confirmation of his power, Croesus initiates his contact with Delphi in connection with his testing of the oracles of Greece and Libya as a result of his anxiety over Persia's growing power under Cyrus: he seeks to avert the imminent downfall of his kingship, whereas Gyges sought to confirm it. However, Delphi is not the exclusive recipient of the Lydian king's sumptuous generosity. Other sanctuaries such as the Amphiareion (1.52),⁷⁴ the Theban sanctuary of Apollo Ismenius, the Ephesian temple of Artemis (both 1.92.1), and Apollo's sanctuary of Branchidae at Didyma (1.92.2) received opulent offerings,⁷⁵ yet for Herodotus those in Delphi were the most prominent.

A catalogue of Croesus' sacrifices and dedications (1.50.1–5) is compiled at a critical moment, right after his consultation of the Delphic oracle about waging war against the Persians. This dedicatory catalogue⁷⁶ of offerings to both the Delphic oracle and the Amphiareion for having satisfied the king by their answers creates a subtext of failure that anticipates his negative presentation of the subsequent oracles (1.53–55). This failure is built upon the discrepancy between the time (*χρόνος*) of their actual dedication and their failure to stand the test of time, which results in their deterioration or appropriation.⁷⁷ Again, the contrasting pairs of contingency-mutability versus durability-permanence are brought into play. Herodotus' painstaking listing and description of these dedications accords with his programmatic concern with *ἔργα* and their survival in time (*χρόνος*). This

cations at Delphi, the Amphiareion, Ephesus, and Miletus (1.50–52, 1.92), and his pious and generous gift of gold to the Spartans for a cult image of Apollo (1.69.4). These narratives (as long as we don't attend too closely to the narrator's ironic juxtapositions) offer us an approximation of the epinikian Kroisos, the "patron saint" of gift exchange. But with the Lydian potentate's two most famous encounters, we bump up against the same civic hostility to gift exchange that we saw so forcefully embodied in the third Samian narrative'.

73 Parke 1984, 209; Flower 1991, 66–70; David 2006, 167.

74 Besides the views of Schachter 1981, 21–23 and 1989, 76–77; Hubbard 1992, 101–107; Parker 1996, 146–149, and Asheri 2007, 110, on an Amphiareion located in Thebes and/or Oropos, see the more recent discussions of Papazarkadas 2014, 242 n. 68 and Thonemann 2016, 159.

75 Kaplan 2002, 148; Buxton 2002, 4; David 2006, 167–168; for the presence of Croesus' dedications to Amphiaraus in the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenius, see Papazarkadas 2014, 245–249; on Herodotus' possible misreading the dedicatory inscription to Amphiaraus and, hence, mistaking an obscure Athenian Croesus for the Lydian king, see Thonemann 2016, 154–158.

76 For a full overview of the catalogue, see Buxton 2002, 7; Poudrier 2002, 42; David 2006, 167–168; Parke 1984, 209–211; for a commentary on the list, see Kaplan 2002, 132–133.

77 Tuite 2006, 66–67.

concern may be reinforced by (a) his interest in wealth in the form of opulent objects,⁷⁸ and (b) his reliance upon object-driven mnemonic traditions.⁷⁹ But his primary concern is to underline the susceptibility of each dedication to the passage of time.⁸⁰

The great propitiatory sacrifice conducted in Lydia to win over Apollo's favour, consisting of a hecatomb and a pyre of objects, a symbol of material wealth, initiates Herodotus' catalogue of Croesus' dedications at Delphi.⁸¹ After the sacrifice of costly but functional items such as gold- and silver-plated κλῖναι, golden φιάλαι, purple cloaks, and chitons, all burned together on a large pyre (1.50.1), he ordered the Lydians to perform a sacrifice to Apollo, each according to his ability. He then collected the precious metal for his own dedication and built a statue-base composed of gold and electrum half-bricks.⁸² This base, built from the collective burnt offering of the Lydians, serves as a hierarchical and governmental metonymy. Herodotus' recording of its size and weight recalls Lydia's wealth (1.50.2). On this base Croesus placed a golden statue of a lion, the symbol of the Mermnad dynasty, weighing ten talents. However, right after his description of its manufacture and subsequent erection Herodotus describes its fall in the great fire that destroyed the temple of Apollo:⁸³

ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα· οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο) καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

He also had a figure of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

Herodotus 1.50.3

⁷⁸ Flory 1987, 85; Konstan 1987, 68–73; Tuite, 2006 68.

⁷⁹ Flower 1991, 69–70; Tuite 2006, 68.

⁸⁰ Tuite 2006, 68.

⁸¹ Asheri 2007, 110.

⁸² Elderkin 1941, 2–3; Buxton 2002, 61–69.

⁸³ Buxton 2002, 78 n. 107; Poudrier 2002, 46 n. 94; Kaplan 2002, 132 and 210; Tuite 2006, 68; for the lion as a heraldic animal *par excellence* in Eastern art, see Asheri 2007, 111; for the lion as a symbol of an absolute ruler cf. Hipparchus' oracular dream (5.56.1) and an oracle about Cypselus (5.92b.3); the the only dream where a lion features as a symbol of a democratic ruler is that of Agariste, Pericles' mother, giving birth to a lion (6.131.2); for Herodotus' manipulation of the lion as a sign, see also Hollmann 1998, 127–128.

The statue's description before and after the fire corresponds to a *demonstratio ad oculos* turned into *deixis ad phantasma* of the creation and disintegration of this artifact, paratactic in the text but not in time. The audience experiences in the same breath the erection of the lion statue as a symbol of Croesus' leadership and the fire of the Delphic temple that caused the statue to fall before the eyes of the audience and affected its weight by consuming almost four talents of its worth in gold.⁸⁴ It is hard not to associate the fire toppling the statue from its base of bricks, funded by the Lydians, as a premonition of the imminent end of Croesus' rule over the Lydian people and his own mounting the famous pyre (1.86.2), while the partial melting of the golden lion, the Mermnads' dynastic symbol, and its losing almost four talents of its worth, foreshadows his monarchy's dissolution and his ultimate reduction from absolute ruler to slave.⁸⁵

Disintegration and dissolution are not the only phenomena signalling Croesus' grim fate. After presenting his audience with the lion-statue's destruction, Herodotus further undermines Croesus's link with his offering by adding dislocation, yet another sign pointing to the ultimate disruption of the link between dedicant and dedicatee. The whole process reverses the example of Midas' throne as an object with special properties, dedicated to Delphi and framed by Gyges' offerings.⁸⁶ The historian rounds off his short narrative of the statue's fate by implying its withdrawal from its original place of honour in the Delphic temple and its relocation in the Corinthian treasury: καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ (and now it is set up in the treasury of the Corinthians, 1.50.3), after the burning of the temple.⁸⁷ This dislocation weakens Croesus' connection with the statue and establishes a new link between the statue and the Corinthians.⁸⁸ The displacement of Croesus' dedication disrupts the exclusivity of the link between Croesus,

⁸⁴ It is notable that Herodotus draws a distinction between Gyges' and Croesus' gold: he qualifies Gyges' gold as ἄπλετον, thus 'great' in quantity, but the collective gold of Croesus' lion statue (1.50.3) as 'refined', χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, thus emphasizing quality; for the overall effect of quantifying and qualifying Croesus' offerings, see Bassi 2014, 187; for archaeological evidence on the extraction of gold and silver on an industrial scale, see Ramage 1978 735; Buxton 2002, xi.

⁸⁵ Kurke 1999, 62; Tuite 2006, 69; Kurke 1999, 157 notes that 'Kroisos's lavish holocaust offering to Delphic Apollo (1.50.1) is parodied in a grim way, when Kyros mounts Kroisos himself in chains on a great pyre (1.90).'

⁸⁶ I analysed earlier how Midas' seat lends its properties to the Delphic oracle after becoming the god's property.

⁸⁷ For a date for the burning, cf. Paus. 10.5.13; see also Parke 214–215, and Kaplan 2002, 132 n. 12.

⁸⁸ Tuite 2006, 69.

the dedicant, and the statue, the dedication. The moving of the statue to the Corinthian treasury creates a new dedicatory context:⁸⁹ the treasury (θησαυρός) alienates the dedication from the individual sphere and relocates it in the context of a *polis*.⁹⁰ Its inclusion within the Corinthian treasury marks the shift and assignment of control from one political sphere to another. So Croesus's claim to the statue and his privileged relationship with the god it represented is now shared with the Corinthians.⁹¹

6 Gyges' and Croesus' craters

The role in the *Histories* of the two giant craters donated by Croesus to Delphi has been described as non-commemorative and 'uniformly non-specific in their imagery'.⁹² Their erection at the entrance to the Delphic temple neither marks a specific historical event nor is framed by any narratives or oral traditions.⁹³ They seem to accompany and to conclude the large *ensemble* of sumptuous dedicatory objects sent to Delphi.⁹⁴

ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τότε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. 2. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δωδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἄμφορέας ἑξακοσίους: ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. 3. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι.

When these offerings were ready, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides: namely, two very large bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silver to the left of the temple entrance. 2. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minae, is in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance. 3. It is said by the

⁸⁹ For the significance of sanctuaries in Herodotus as repositories of objects that help to maintain memory, see Poudrier 2002, 13–22.

⁹⁰ Tuite 2006, 69–70.

⁹¹ Tuite 2006, 70.

⁹² Poudrier 2002, 25 and 42.

⁹³ Poudrier 2002, 42.

⁹⁴ Poudrier 2002, 42.

Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I agree with them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship.

Herodotus 1.51.1-3

Although Poudrier tagged their role as ‘peripheral to the story’ and the point of the narrative where they occur as ‘dead’, I think that their presence in the *Histories* could yield more insight if we employ the contrasting concepts of contingency-mutability versus durability-permanence which I introduced earlier.

Despite their non-commemorative, non-specific character as dedicatory objects, the pair of gold and silver giant craters retain their symbolic meaning as metonymies of regal status and fame.⁹⁵ The crater displayed at a Homeric banquet acted as a symbol of civilised behaviour and aristocratic values, representing the users’ need for the dilution of wine and the maintenance of social hierarchy through fair and even distribution of agricultural surplus to equals and subordinates.⁹⁶ Later, when the aristocratic symposium replaced the banquet, its symbolic focus shifted to the wealth and power of aristocratic individuals.⁹⁷ Hence, as a symbol with connotations of social hierarchy and wealth, the crater represented the aristocratic way of life, and was an ideal object for gift exchange.⁹⁸ Gift exchange involved not only economic value but also reciprocity, implying an interest in a return deferred to the future, with any immediate tangible effect being temporarily suspended (albeit eventually anticipated). The dimension of time was therefore added, so long as the next exchange could be saved for the future. This implication of time in the gift exchange as an important feature of reciprocity confirmed the interest of those who practised it in a future reciprocal act. So this recognition of future as an important feature of the exchange led people to look for settings where their gifts could be displayed in a secure place and ultimately serve as promptings of such a future reciprocal act, whenever this might take place. This combination of factors, i.e. security, interest in time, and public display, marked the shift in the location of gifts: sanctuaries started becoming recipients of status objects dedicated by aristocrats, while personal gift exchange was still practised among them.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Poudrier 2002, 25.

⁹⁶ Poudrier 2002, 32; Wecowski 2014, 201–202.

⁹⁷ Poudrier 2002, 32–33; Wecowski, 2014, 326–327.

⁹⁸ Poudrier 2002, 34; Wecowski 2014, 217–218, 291–292.

⁹⁹ Poudrier 2002, 34–37; Wecowski 2014, 294–299.

Introducing time as the principal variable in the presentation of dedications in Lydian *logos*, along with how they are affected by time and their (dis-)placement in the chronology of events and in dedicatory space, will help us understand the role of Croesus' pair of craters.¹⁰⁰ Apart from being votive offerings representing the king's status and reputation, they share a special link with the six golden craters dedicated by Gyges, Croesus' predecessor and founder of the Mermnad dynasty. The two sets of craters, Gyges' and Croesus', are correlated, since their dedicatory space and their existence within it are marked by the polarity contingency-mutability versus durability-permanence. While recording Croesus' set, Herodotus exhibits his interest in their weight and capacity, an interest consistent with his meticulous fascination with numbers.¹⁰¹ His interest in the visual details of the two craters and in their original and current settings points to autopsy as his preferred mode of enquiry.¹⁰² Herodotus' report of the original setting of the two craters may stem from two possible sources: (a) either a larger canonical¹⁰³ narrative of the sanctuary's history, offered by a priest or a local guide and incorporating material about a fire causing the change in location, thus connecting the craters with the sanctuary's history; or (b) some common knowledge, a piece of information that had become connected to the craters in oral culture.¹⁰⁴ The treatment of the move by the priests or guides would have encouraged the inclusion of this information in oral accounts as well as in Herodotus' account.¹⁰⁵ In many respects these craters seem to match Gyges' dedications in number, value, craftsmanship, and location.¹⁰⁶ Unlike his predecessor's offerings, Croesus' craters differed in their aim, in Herodotus' assessment of their value, and in their fate.¹⁰⁷ The major difference between the two separate votive sets is that Herodotus presents Gyges' craters in an explicitly diachronic fashion, as fixed points against a changed landscape, by noting the change in the ownership of the treasury from Cypselus to the Corinthians (1.14.2).¹⁰⁸

Herodotus offers his treatment of Croesus' two immense craters, one of gold and the other of silver, as a conclusion of the large assemblage of offerings

100 Bassi 2014, 186.

101 Poudrier 2002, 27; Sergueenkova 2016, 121–131.

102 Poudrier 2002, 27–28.

103 I use this qualification to allude to the analysis of Herodotus' consultation of temple inventories by Kosmetatou 2013, 65–77.

104 Poudrier 2002, 28; Parke 1984, 210–211; Kaplan 2002, 132; David 2006, 169.

105 Poudrier 2002, 28.

106 Tuite 2006, 126.

107 Tuite 2006, 126.

108 Tuite 2006, 129.

(1.50.1–3). The craters originally flanked the entrance of the main temple: the golden one was displayed at the right of the entrance, the silver at the left. Standing opposite to one another in their original setting, the two craters comprise an ensemble of artifacts displayed in interaction with one another, thus reinforcing the dedicatory prestige of their patron. After the conflagration devastated the temple both craters were separately moved to other locations. In Herodotus' time, the golden crater stood in the treasury of the Clazomenians, whereas the silver one, still being used as a mixing bowl by the Delphians at the festival of the *Theophania*, stood in the corner of the temple's *pronaos*.¹⁰⁹ The dislocation of the craters from their original place after the great fire and their relocation are described against the unchanged background of the Delphic sanctuary.¹¹⁰ This dislocation was twofold: (a) they were removed from their original place of dedication to positions of lesser honour (another building and the corner of the *pronaos*); and (b) they were separated from one another.¹¹¹ They were thus re-contextualised, establishing connections between Croesus' dedications and other political entities.¹¹² Though the Clazomenians were Croesus' subjects, the monarch did not own their treasury. So the golden crater was registered through its recontextualisation as a Clazomenian dedication. The dislocation suspended the exclusive, reciprocal relation established by these dedicatory objects between the god as recipient and Croesus as the dedicant. Their separation disrupted the dialogic, artistic unity of the craters as dedicatory objects which had once enhanced the prestige of the pious and wealthy individual.

The silver crater further exemplifies this disruption: the dislocation of the object resulted in its change of use. The Delphians appropriated it and used it during their celebration of the *Theophania*:¹¹³

ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηΐου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι·...

This bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.

Herodotus 1.51.2

¹⁰⁹ Parke 1984, 211; Buxton 2002, 4; David 2006, 169; Kosmetatou 2013, 67.

¹¹⁰ Tuite 2006, 126.

¹¹¹ Tuite 2006, 70.

¹¹² Tuite 2006, 71.

¹¹³ Buxton 2002, 4; Tuite 2006, 71; David 2006, 169.

Herodotus sheds light on two other specific details as regards the silver crater: its use by the personnel of the sanctuary and its craftsmanship.

φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι.

It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I agree with them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship.

Herodotus 1.51.3

The historian elicits the special purpose of its use from its capacity; Herodotus indicates that he knows how much it holds because it is used in this way, information that might have also been provided by the priests. A common form of public display was the incorporation of special gifts and dedications into traditional rituals. This incorporation depended on the special properties of the objects, e.g. age, size, and number. The combination of extravagant features and public display in a ritualised context provided an excellent opportunity for the Delphic personnel to illustrate the age, connections, and popularity of the sanctuary. In that sense, the dislocation led to the permutation of the crater from a radiant, artistic object with a dedicatory purpose, laden with its benefactor's reputation, to an ideal prestige piece for the sanctuary.¹¹⁴ Its size and craftsmanship, intended to perpetuate the individual benefactor Croesus' κλέος, are repurposed for ritual use in collective religious acts.

7 Conclusions

I have tried to explore the interaction between objects as cognitive signs and the way they inform the ideological and literary agenda of Herodotus' *Histories*. As David asserts, 'active commemoration via physical constructions is a foregone conclusion'.¹¹⁵ My aim was to show how Herodotus' use of objects (ἔργα) complies with his investigative and empirical method of enquiry conducted in order to secure the κλέος that counters the destructive force of time (χρόνος). What is at stake in the *Histories* is the commemorative and material resilience of objects, challenged by the contrasting concepts of contingency-mutability versus dura-

¹¹⁴ Poudrier 2002, 28–29.

¹¹⁵ David 2006, 280.

bility-permanence. Objects, either as religious dedications or intentional memorials, may endure the passage of time or undergo change in their functions and meanings. Their metallic materiality does not itself secure endurance, since this is affected by time. Their specific properties may secure endurance and survival but may also allow them to succumb to serving purposes alien to the original reason for their manufacture or dedication. This fluidity in use and meaning accommodates different interpretations of oral traditions and canonical records. Objects may act as signifiers that bear meaning, deliver messages, invite interpretation, and elicit reactions of recipients. Herodotus' methodological reliance on material artifacts and monuments chimes with his concept of *ιστορίη* as critical interrogation of informants in contrast to mere autopsy (*ὄψις*), allowing the exercise of judgment (*γνώμη*) that aims to prove or disprove their view of the truth.¹¹⁶ To this end, the conjunction of artifacts, monuments, and *ιστορίη* is fundamental.

¹¹⁶ Bakker 2002, 15

Rosalind Thomas

Truth and authority in Herodotus' narrative: false stories and true stories

1 Introduction

How do you work out which tales and which narratives to believe in a society where memories and traditions were dependent on different groups, individuals or communities being willing to remember them, or on poets to commemorate or enshrine a version whose verse might help preserve it a little longer? In which the vagaries of memory as well as the manner of telling and retelling could always alter the narratives? This volume encourages us to consider Herodotus both as a 'scientist' and as a narrator, and the two can interlock in the question of the search for what the historian considered the truth about the past, the question of how he sifted the traditions and accounts, and why he decided on one version rather than another.¹ There are competing authorities: the authority of tradition by which I mean accepted and enshrined tradition ('the Aeginetans say this')², the authority of the poet, and the authority of the enquirer and historian who may (or may not) use critical methods. With myth and legend, you could rationalise and remove the fantastical elements to create a more plausible version, and various writers did this in their individual ways (Hellanicus, Thucydides). For the recent past, the irony is that it could be considerably more complex for an enquirer who might encounter large numbers of witnesses, numerous angles of experience, and competing city-state traditions.

This paper started from an interest in the false stories which Herodotus tells us in the narrative of the Persian Wars, and which he then deliberately refutes with a variety of methods, adducing likelihood, proof and witnesses. The 'New Simonides' has, however, added a new dimension, as it reveals even more clearly than the numerous Simonidean epigrams how immediately after the Persian Wars a poetic celebration could heroise and elevate certain events in such a way as to render them almost beyond recognition. We are familiar with Herodotus'

1 By 'scientist', I mean the 'proto-science' of the quest to find out about the nature of the world, the cosmos, geography, the nature of man, though the methods of the latter half of the 5th c. are often far from what would now be considered scientific.

2 See Luraghi 2001 for a sensitive and persuasive interpretation of such expressions.

treatment of tales which are in some way ‘myths’, traditional tales set in the very distant past, and with the varieties of credulity, critique, and scepticism on offer, as well as with the retelling of stories to make moral points even if they were not strictly verifiable, and with the use of subtle framing devices.³ The story of Rhapsinitus and the thief is declared unlikely at several points, ending with a declaration that his principle was to record τὰ λεγόμενα (2.121–122.1). The difficulties of knowing with certainty about periods of the really distant past are brought out in the remarks about Polycrates in comparison to Minos: Polycrates, ‘the first who we know of the Greeks who intended a thalassocracy, except for Minos ... but of the so-called human generation (γενεή), Polycrates was the first’ (3.122.2). Herodotus both emphasised and distanced himself from the possibility of attaining knowledge about these very distant generations, while it is interesting that Thucydides not only had fewer qualms about Minos, but also exercised all his rationalising skill to render Minos part of his geo-political vision of early Aegean history and thalassocracies.⁴ Herodotus’ proem started with stylised and rationalised legends – and without the gods – in what was perhaps a parody of the rationalising methods used to create history from myth, and then turned to what we really ‘know’ (I 5.3). Yet he rationalised the Trojan War with the argument that Helen spent the duration of the war not in Troy but in Egypt.⁵ The critical and rationalising writer of these narratives offers an obvious point of comparison with the writer who shows a familiarity with the new developments of critical intellectual activity of the second half of the fifth century.⁶

In order to tease out more of his methods and approach to ‘true stories’ and ‘false stories’, we concentrate on two case studies where there exist both poetic celebration and Herodotus’ narrative: the earliest antecedents of the Thera/Cyrene colonisation in Herodotus and Pindar, and the march up from Sparta through the Peloponnese to the battle of Plataea. The assumption is easily made that distortions, heroisation and fantastic elevation are really only a problem for the historians dealing with the distant myths and times of origins (compare Thucydides’ strictures about the poets’ elaborations, referring mainly to epic (1.21.1)). Yet the ‘New Simonides’ makes it remarkably clear that even events well within living

3 Cf. Baragwanath/Bakker 2012b, esp. 31 ff., for framing techniques for aetiologies and myths.

4 It is interesting, incidentally, that later Athenian historians of the 4th and early 3rd c. offered variations of the Theseus and Minos legends with an astonishing variety of rationalisation: in other words, they could not bear to omit them.

5 2.112–120, wound up with enquiries from the Egyptian priests.

6 On this latter aspect, see Thomas 2000 and bibliography; Lateiner 1986; and Grintser in this volume.

memory – indeed merely a few years before – were in the process of being obliterated and transformed into something quite different. In other words the very recent past might paradoxically be even harder to ascertain than the distant. We can make a series of interlocking comparisons here: between the treatment of the recent past by poet and by historian; of recent and distant, mythical past; between local knowledge and therefore local authority as opposed to the historian's view of plausibility; and between local claims versus those of other cities and groups. In neither case did Herodotus make any special claims to have unearthed the truth or provided special testimony – he simply told the narratives as if apparently content to repeat the tales without protest. But the poetic narratives preserve startlingly different versions which give us pause, and which provide the patina of age, and epic resonance, to both recent and distant events.

It is never quite so simple that some periods are just beyond certainty.⁷ While Minos belonged to the terrain of uncertainty, the recent past could also present difficulties, and Herodotus shows an awareness throughout the *Histories* of the bounds of knowledge. Difficulty is not a straightforward function of the passing of time, and Herodotus' remark about repeating τὰ λεγόμενα but not necessarily believing them in Book 7 was made in connection with recent Argive actions (7.152). The passage of time did not help (τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα, Proem), and the poets tended to exaggerate (Thuc. 1.21.1). Yet the false stories connected with the Persian Wars which Herodotus tells in order to refute them make it intriguingly clear that Herodotus was alert to 'false tales' about any period, showing his judgment as an impartial historian and narrator.

The Persian Wars themselves could present problems of 'truth', for there the historian had to confront problems of a different order, the countless competing versions of polis-centred narratives, and claims of bravery and success. If a polis was lucky it could transport its version into the poetic realm and its achievements could start to become assimilated to the heroic age. In the 'New Simonides', ironically, we can see the very process by which very recent events could be turned into myth even whilst surviving participants were very much alive. Simonides' elegy seems to have created a heroising, myth-like and elevated narrative. Herodotus never mentioned this elegy, but we can compare his narrative more sharply, and here, I argue, we may surmise that his narrative sought to diminish epic elevations such as these. His ἱστορίη was concerned here, as with Minos, to diminish the poetic exaggerations and simplifications of this celebratory ode – and others

7 See recent emphasis on this in Baragwanath/Bakker 2012b; cf. 25 'Hdt's subtle and deliberate exposure of the "problem with Minos" ... would be in keeping with Hdt's more general staging of uncertainty about the terrain of myth'.

like it – and the sentiments it encouraged. He did this by sheer narrative depth, detail and sureness about what he was narrating.

We focus, then, on two instances where there still exist poetic treatments parallel to Herodotus' treatment of the same or similar events: (1). The distant antecedents of the colonisation of Cyrene going right back to the Minyae concern the past we tend to call mythical, the time of origins. The tales of the very ancient origins of Thera and her colony Cyrene were treated both by Herodotus and Pindar in *Pythian* 4 and *Pythian* 5. We will concentrate on the pre-Theran period before the Minyans had even set out for Thera to make their second attempt to found a new settlement. (2). The very recent past of the Persian Wars, particularly the crucial developments before the battle of Plataea as a result of which the Spartans finally decided to join the Athenians and others in the final great battle of central Greece. This was treated in one of the less fragmentary sections of the 'New Simonides' and Herodotus Book 9. What emerges, I hope, is how, while even recent events could become transformed into a glorious heroising narrative, Herodotus' account of the Plataea campaign must have been written in awareness of the way it was in danger of turning into unassailable myth (just as was the battle of Salamis for the Athenians). Herodotus shared Thucydides' scepticism concerning the poets' elaborations, but he drew the lines in different places and did not engage in open polemic.

Some instructive comparisons can be made here. We cannot underestimate the sheer authority of tradition, of the 'traditional', and of the very distant past when it has been enshrined in poetic form. Genre, occasion and purpose helped form Pindar's presentation of early Theran history. We may also compare the authority of the poet with the historian's, and the conflict between the two distinct forms of authority. In the case of the Simonides elegy, the verse will have tried to enshrine a particular version in people's memories. If Simonides' elegy meant to celebrate, memorialise and heroise the Plataea victors, apportioning a form of Homeric κλέος, Herodotus' account seems to have a quite different purpose and type of authority. In some ways, it diffuses and fragments any κλέος that was being gained, producing a fundamentally non-Homeric narrative that spoke to different concerns. It will be argued that Herodotus was trying here to cope with, refute, complicate and undermine the kind of memorial and κλέος that the poetic commemorations sought to create. He does indeed hint at the Homeric quest for κλέος in the Proem, as is well known; but the Proem also hints at the need to use judgement and proof in the less Homeric sense in the quest for what one can 'know' to be true (1.1–5, esp. the end of 1.5). There are competing forms of κλέος and truth at work here.

We may also consider the contrast between the recent past from which much information and misinformation was still available, and the very distant past which had been 'preserved', fixed or actually created, through processes of retelling, poetic treatments and the more or less conscious selectivity of remembering and retelling for the numerous interests of various groups (the Battiad dynasty; Therans, Spartans, Minyans etc.). It is worth stressing from the outset that such tales and traditions which purport to go back to the distant past will inevitably be a combination of individuals' accounts, traditions thought to be very old, communal accounts which seem traditional but which are inevitably influenced by later generations and circumstances of retelling, and poetic or ritual-based accounts, and that even the 'memories' of individuals were probably influenced by the wider surrounding 'communal' traditions and the priorities of their society.⁸ It is striking how Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars contains several false stories that he tells at length only to refute them, from the stories about Scyllies the diver, to divine intervention, or undignified behaviour on the part of various Greek states (below). Not all can be categorized simply as polis boasting and jingoism, for there were also sensational and exotic tales of wealth, disappearances and stereotypical Persian behaviour (also refuted). So anecdotes, carefully preserved and remembered versions, official narratives and memorials, and individual and family tales were all jostling together. How was an historian to decide what was true, false, plausible, probably true, or probably not true? The distant past would be simpler in some respects, having been polished and worn down by selective retellings or a single poetic version which would crystallise a single version. The recent past of the Persian Wars was still part of the messy experience of men still alive, affecting their progeny, and energetically celebrated by cities, groups and individuals. The 'New Simonides' shows in one example part of the process by which, very shortly after events with thousands of witnesses and participants, the poet and his patrons tried to construct a better and more heroic version: so here the inevitable partiality and messiness of memories and anecdotes about the very recent past collide with the stylised and almost Homeric memorialisation.

⁸ For the complexity of memory, memorial and tradition, cf. from a vast range, Cubitt 2007, Fentress/Wickham 1992; Halbwachs 1925, 1950; Vansina 1985; Assmann 2011; orig. 1992 relied overly on institutionalised 'memory'; Thomas forthcoming.

2 Cyrene and Thera: Pindar *Pythian* 4 and Herodotus

Pythian 4, the longest of Pindar's odes, forms a monumental celebration for the royal house of the Battiads of Cyrene. Tied to the royal house and Arcesilaus' victory, it has all the power and authority of the Muse, the epinician elevation and the epic grandeur of the narrative of the quest for the Golden Fleece. Despite the hints at the end about wounds in the city (270–276), you would not guess from this ode alone that the monarchy was to be overturned just a few years later.⁹

Historians tend to be more interested in the Battus/Theran settlement in Cyrene, the episode most amenable to comparison between legends and tales about colonisation and the historical reality on the ground. What is of interest here are the very remotest origins of Cyrene which enable us to compare Herodotus on the Minyae (4.145 ff.) and Pindar on a period which by every reckoning must count as a mythical age, and which forms part of what Malkin called 'the Sparta-Thera-Cyrene chain'.¹⁰ *Pythian* 4 takes the antecedents of Cyrene right back to Medea and Euphemus, one of the Minyae and regarded as the remote ancestor of Battus. Early in the ode Medea makes a prophecy which calls upon a 'son of Polymnestus' (i.e. Battus) to found the city, 'and to fulfil in the seventeenth generation that word spoken on Thera by Medea, which the high-spirited daughter of Aietes and queen of the Colchians had once breathed forth' (9ff.; Medea's speech, 11–56). Thus the origins of the Battiads of Cyrene are traced right back to the period of the voyage of the Argo. The Argonauts' land journey to Lake Tritonis in Libya and the clod of earth legitimise the claim to the land of Libya (26–37). The oracle of Apollo at Delphi was also celebrated, when Battus went to consult the oracle about the problem of his speech (53, 59 ff.), and Apollo spontaneously foretold the foundation of Cyrene. It is also worth noting that Pindar's *Pythian* 5 also included a pre-Theran foundation of Cyrene by the sons of Antenor, the Antenoridae, Trojans who fled Troy with Helen when Troy burned, and who were still honoured in Cyrene (5.80–85).¹¹ It also added more on Battus himself.

⁹ See Braswell 1988, Intro. on political context and the political significance of the myths.

¹⁰ Malkin 1994, 176. Giangiulio 2001 offers a full and significant discussion of the Cyrene foundation legends, with further refs to vast bibliography; 128f. compares Hdt. and Pindar. Aly 1921 offers a suggestive discussion with important parallels for the 'Märchen'. See also Zali in this volume, pp. 134–137.

¹¹ On these mysterious Trojans, see Malkin 1994, 52–7 and further bibliography there; on the nymph Cyrene and why she was not strictly a founder, Malkin 1994, 173.

We can assume that the sponsoring of *Pythian* 4 by Damophilus of Cyrene for the Cyrenean Arcesilaus must mean that the versions of these myths had firm backing in Cyrenean legend, and especially in the official Battiad version of their role in the history of Cyrene. The very presence of the monarchy will have helped solidify and preserve the tradition, and local poetry may have helped crystallized this.¹² Extraordinarily, then, across the two odes we are given a double rooting of Cyrene in two major Panhellenic legends, the voyage of the Argo with its story of Medea, and the fall of Troy with Antenor. This all traces the family of Arcesilaus right back to Euphemus the Minyan. Euphemus himself was an Argonaut (*Pythian* 4.20–23), and along with other Argonauts produced progeny from the union with the Lemnian women (254 ff.): ‘for it was in those foreign furrows that the fated days and nights received the seed of your family’s radiant prosperity, for there the family (γένος) of Euphamus was planted’ (Race’s transl., adapted). From there, they went to Sparta and thence to Thera.

We may note that this ‘rooting’ is based on the genealogy of the kingly family alone, not the whole community of Cyrene, and the matter of the Minyans (below) is also concentrated upon a few families. It is thus a genealogy of the elite, not the community-based tradition of the creation of the settlement sent out from Thera to Cyrene that we see in Herodotus (4.145–159) and the oath of the settlers (ML 5 = SEG IX 3). Moreover, Herodotus’ account of the foundation of Cyrene was written after the fall of the monarchy and bears signs of a post-monarchic readjustment in the traditions, as Giangiulio noted in an important paper.¹³ I would depart slightly from this position, however, in pointing out that even after the monarchy the impressive Battiad-centred traditions were surely alive and continuing, even though they will obviously have changed slightly. Secondly, I would put more stress on the importance of performance, genre and social context in which the traditions were selected and retold as an essential influence on what was actually said.¹⁴ Herodotus was far removed from the social and performance contexts of the Pindaric victory ode, and was able to offer different nuances and different aspects of the Cyrene story without fear of offence. His account of Cyrene ended with the strikingly negative and horrifying account of Pheretime, mother

12 See Giangiulio 2001, esp. 135 for evidence of 6th c. poet Eugammon of Cyrene. For polis tradition and monarchy, Thomas 1989, 172 with n. 39, 196–8; Vansina 1985, 148 ff.

13 Giangiulio 2001, 128 and n.

14 Giangiulio 2001, esp. 135–6, stresses more the diachronic division between monarchic and post monarchic periods, if I have correctly understood the argument which occasionally seems forced. See Aly, on the other hand, 1921, 135–40, for the ‘folk-tale’ units.

of Arcesilaus, who succeeded in bringing the Persians into Libya (note the end of Book 4).

Nevertheless, Herodotus went into considerable detail on the Therans' very earliest ancestors, those Minyae who left Lemnos and settled in Lacedaemon (4.145–8). He launches into this first before the story of Cyrene's myth of origin and the Persian expedition against Libya (he needs 'to narrate this first', 4.145.1: προδιηγούμενος πρότερον τάδε). He tells us how eventually they were forced to leave Sparta, and led by Theras they went to the island of Thera. The comparison with Pindar is fascinating. For it is striking that Herodotus does not mention Euphemus in his own right as a prominent leader in the events narrated, though he knows of the lineage and calls Battus 'son of Polymnestus, of the Minyan family of the Euphemidae' (4.150.2); nor does he give the tale of the clod of earth so prominent in *Pythian* 4 in justifying Battiad legitimacy. It is also striking that he mentioned various ancestors of Theras (4.147.1), and talked of Theras acting for a while as regent for his nephews. It is therefore clear first that Pindar was not the source or not the sole source for Herodotus.¹⁵ There is also good reason to think that the genealogical intricacy is such that some kind of genealogical tradition of a quite careful type might have been available, perhaps a form of genealogical poetry (see n.12). But though Herodotus does not treat the tale of Euphemus, he narrates the tradition of the Minyae at Sparta, which we would regard as equally mythical and fantastical: not only that, the Minyae narrative makes clear that Minyae and the Minyan legacy were an important part of the story of Thera and Cyrene, and provided an ancestor for the Aegeidae in Sparta (4.149).¹⁶

Let us look more closely at Herodotus' long narrative of the tale of the grandsons of the Argonauts who were expelled from Lemnos and fled to Sparta as their ancestral land (4.145–148). The tale of the Minyae who start by encamping on Mount Taygetus is engagingly told and narrated at length with circumstantial explanations.¹⁷ It shows all the leisurely repetition of the traditional tale in Herodotus. They lit fires on Taygetus, and this attracted attention. Messengers were sent by the nearby Spartans and after some exchanges land was granted to them. However the Minyae started to act with increasing *hybris*, having designs on the

¹⁵ As Giangiulio 2001 points out; cf. p. 124–5 for a suggestion of written genealogical material, as well as oral, for both Pindar and Herodotus.

¹⁶ I do not think we can say, therefore, that Herodotus does not think Battus is descended from Euphemus *pace* Giangiulio 2001, 128 and n. 46: 'Battus' link with all the Argonautic and Minyan background is completely missing', apparently refers to the Cyrenean traditions. Herodotus 4.145–8 is in his own voice.

¹⁷ See Corcella 2007, on 4.145.3 for theories about the Minyae's historical connection with Sparta and Thessaly. Aly 1921, 138–40 for folk-tale motifs here.

kingship, and the Spartans thereupon decided to murder them. As their first step they threw them into prison. There follows a classic tale of disguise and escape from prison: their Spartan wives visited them in prison ('because executions are always done at night') and they exchanged clothes with the men. And thus the Minyae escaped. Meanwhile Theras, a Cadmeian at Sparta, was intending to leave to join his kin in the island later called Thera (they are apparently there already; ἐξ τοὺς συγγενέας (4.147.3)). There were already Phoenicians there, descendants of Memblarius, son of Phoenician Poeciles. And Theras took some of the Minyans with him to Thera – but not all, as Herodotus carefully explains. The detail is fine and exact: for example, Herodotus gives the names of the six towns near Elis settled by the Minyans who did not travel to Thera, and 'most of them were destroyed in my own time by the Eleans' (148.4).

We must be seeing the tip of a raft of origin stories and aetiologies which place Minyans in several parts of the Peloponnese, and which have all been woven into Herodotus' grander narrative. This is not simply a good story with circumstantial narrative elements, but it is tied to places where Minyans were thought to have settled; not simply 'folktales' with nameless actors and generic places, but specific, geographically based stories. It shows the tricks so often found in the oral folktale,¹⁸ but it is also offering *aitia* for various settlements in the Peloponnese as well as Thera. So we seem to be entering into a web of legends, aetiological myths, origin stories, all relating to mainland Greece and in particular the Peloponnese (not necessarily, of course, with a basis in historical reality). Pindar knows of the Minyae coming from Lacedaemon to Thera, but the ode only hinted briefly at this.¹⁹ Herodotus had carefully explained how some of the Minyae did not go to Thera; Pindar had implied that they all did (*Pythian* 4.256–9). Herodotus said nothing about the fantastic elements of the Euphemus tale as told in Pindar, where a god gave Euphemus a clod of earth; he ignored the myth of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene which is told in Pindar *Pythian* 9. Indeed, while Pindar made so much of the gift of the clod of earth which thus 'gave' Libya to the Therans,²⁰ Herodotus only had a slightly similar aetiological tale which would legitimise Spartan colonising in Libya centred on Jason and the Argonauts

18 Cf. Dewald 2012, 81 with n. 48 for further tricks, with important proviso on the reinforcing of Greek values. Aly 1921, 138 ff. offers parallels for folk-tale motifs, esp. for the wives, postulating 'joins'.

19 Minyae in Lacedaemon: *Pythian* 4.48–49, a brief reference to setting out from Lacedaemon in Medea's prophecy; 257–9, 'and after joining the abodes of Lacedaemonians, in time they settled on the island once called Calliste' (Race, adapted). Note also that Euphemus came originally from Taenarus in Lacedaemon, *Pythian* 4.173–5. Malkin 1994, 174 ff.

20 See Malkin 1994, 174–81 on significance of the clod, a 'double legitimisation'.

at Lake Tritonis, and it involved a tripod, not a clod (4.178–9). This is placed not as part of the story of Cyrene at all, but within his survey of ever remoter areas and tribes going west to more distant parts of Libya. Jason had arrived there not via a heroic journey overland carrying the ship, as in Pindar, but simply blown off course to Libya on the way to Delphi (and the Libyans promptly hid the tripod in the hope that the prophecy would not be fulfilled!).

Herodotus narrates this all authoritatively, and as far as one can see, without the slightest hint of doubt about its truth value. He ends by saying that Lacedaemonians and Therans agrees up to this point, but from now on he gives the Theran tale (150.1), essentially presenting the Minyae part of the tale as uncontroversial – at least based on Lacedaemonian and Theran belief (unless this is distancing himself). We can contrast his later rationalisation of the tendency of the Delphic oracle, for he explicitly reinterprets the Battus oracle on the grounds that Battus was Libyan for ‘king’, and suggests that Apollo was hinting at that fact, rather than using Battus’ real name (4.155.1–3) – so much for the Theran and Cyrenean versions.²¹

However Herodotus combined or connected this tale of the Minyans and their various exploits, he seems to accept it and to believe, like Pindar, that this remote past is relevant to the story of Cyrene. This is important. In this as in so many colonisation tales, the ‘origins’ seem to get pushed ever further back. So how and why is this acceptable? Presumably partly purely because they have their own authority and immovability as ‘tradition’. Secondly, surely Herodotus has quietly rationalised the tales in some way, removing some of the more fantastical elements. In fact the tale of the Minyae presented by Herodotus is remarkably similar to the tale of how the Therans eventually reached Cyrene, yet another tale of displacement, settlement, problems with local inhabitants (Spartans, Libyans) and another relocation. Moreover, while Pindar’s narrative was inevitably tied to the social setting and position of the honorand, Herodotus’ could be independent from that group and more cosmopolitan, taking in the Panhellenic sweep of a whole web of traditions. He could not really resolve the problem of the authority of these traditions, despite their absurd age, and it would seem this was simply because they had traditional weight. Though he carefully separated the λόγος that one can ‘know’ from the ones that can be questioned and rationalised in the Proem (1.5.3), it would seem that many distant μῦθοι just had to be retold, perhaps with unmarked rationalisation. Perhaps Herodotus’ tacit omission of certain

21 I leave aside the Cyrenean version and controversy over the division of the tales: excellent summary with extensive bibliography in Corcella 2007 on Book 4 *ad loc.* See also Giangiulio 2001, and references there.

fantastic elements in the tradition used by Pindar gave greater credence to what was left. Thus while Pindar's Euphemus received the clod, in Herodotus (as we saw) a similar story was hived off to a geographical description and attributed to Triton and Jason. One must imagine that these versions were retold and handed down, altering in the process, by poets, communities Thera and Peloponnesian, and any whose business was to recall the Minyae. Moreover while Pindar or other poets could be allusive because the main tales were known, the historian sets out the whole narrative, and perhaps that very process of combining separate narratives itself gave a new authority of completeness.

Alongside these hints of popular stories with the colourful elements of the folktale (the Minyae's escape from prison, Phronime's escape from drowning), we have a distinct rationalising process in the careful tying up of loose ends. The comparison with Pindar allows us to analyse how the historian fills out the gaps, completes the story and, moreover, makes it logical in political terms. Thus Herodotus explained that since the Minyae married Spartan wives, they gave 'to others' their Lemnian wives (who had come with them) (4.145.5). The Minyae in Lacedaemon got privileges and then started to demand more. The Spartans accepted the Minyae because the sons of Tyndareus had also sailed in the Argo. The executions in Sparta are only ever carried out at night (a nice piece of pseudo-*akribeia* to explain how the trick worked). The wives of the Minyae were beyond suspicion because they were all *astai* and daughters of the foremost Spartiates (4.146.3). In Sparta, some of the Minyae stay behind, some move on to Thera.

We sense instinctively that none of this would feature in a Pindaric ode, at least not in this form. Nor would the other story which occurs later in Herodotus' Battus narrative about the rescue of Battus' mother Phronime which is offered as the Cyrenean version.²² Daughter of a king, Phronime was supposed to be drowned in the sea at the behest of her wicked step-mother on a shocking trumped-up charge, but she was saved by Themiston of Thera (4.154.1–155.1). For Themiston was tricked by the king Etearchus in Crete, Phronime's father, into a promise he did not wish to keep, that he would dispose of her in the sea. He kept his oath by lowering her down into the waves and then hauling her back up while still alive. So she went to live in Thera and with Polymnestus she produced a son Battus. The λόγος is introduced as the Cyrenean story of Battus, quite different from that of the Therans: 'For they say this: there is a city Oaxus of Crete, in which Etearchus was king, and he had a motherless daughter whose name was Phronime, and he took another wife' (4.154.1 ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὀαζὸς πόλις ...). This is the classic beginning of a traditional folktale or fable, and it proceeds with

22 Note also the story of Ladice, 2.181, attached to a statue offered to Aphrodite in Cyrene.

the familiar motifs of wicked stepmother, treacherous promise, thwarted attempt at murder, escape of young girl.²³ It sounds like a separate tale which would be retold by itself, and it has an interesting focus on the woman Phronime from Crete. There is also the striking fact that Polymnestus takes her as his concubine: he does not marry her (ἐπαλλακεύετο, 155.1).

The occurrence of these same names in Thera and Cyrene in later centuries seems to confirm that the same names were current earlier,²⁴ and the obvious conclusion is that later aristocratic families saw their remote ancestors in these ancient narratives. The recurring names would paradoxically also seem to confirm the truth-value of the tales.

Thus simply by telling the story of the Minyans being expelled from Lemnos and settling in Sparta, Herodotus was affirming it. We must suspect that some rationalising and selection has occurred, mainly by Herodotus. In this case there are no distancing suggestions, and he attributes it to the Spartans and Therans as if there were no divergences. Despite the possibilities for a tale so connected to the Argonauts, the Minyae tale is not bathed in epic light – indeed it is almost prosaic in the normality of the grandsons of the Argonauts – and it lacks the mythic overtones and fantastical prophecies prominent in the Pindaric evocation of the Argonautic contribution to the founding of Cyrene.²⁵ It is rationalised to a level of plausibility which leaves it politically and historically on a par with the later story of the Theran expedition to Cyrene. It offers an example of what the historian Herodotus could do with one of the most evocative of Greek myths.

3 The Spartan march to Plataea and the Plataea Elegy of Simonides

We turn now to an episode which was still very recent for Herodotus when he composed his *Histories*, but which Simonides connected back to the Homeric heroes and which gained through his verse the patina of authority from the epic past. One might think an armed march from Sparta to central Greece held little interest or that the army set out without significant problems. Here is the reverse situation, an episode still alive in memories and very recent traditions, but which

²³ See Corcella 2007 on 4.154–6, with Aly 1921, 139 f. on folk motifs; and Corcella 2007 on 4.154.1 ἔστι ... πόλις. This would fit with Giangiulio's emphasis on post-monarchy traditions.

²⁴ See Corcella 2007 on 4.154.1: Etearchus, Phronime, Polymnastus, Themiston, with *LGPN*.

²⁵ Cf. Dewald 2012 for a recent general analysis of mythic overtones in Herodotus Book 1.

poetic treatment had tried to turn into myth and legend. By coincidence this also involves the Tyndaridae.

Scholars seem to be somewhat ambivalent about how important the 'New Simonides' is to our reading of Herodotus. Was it a source (of fact) for Herodotus? Boedeker for instance in 2002 seemed sure that 'Herodotus knew this poem as well, and relied on it in certain respects in constructing his own scenario of the decisive battle'.²⁶ In the important volume *The New Simonides* (2001) she listed the convergences and differences, pointing out that Herodotus gives a more complex account, especially where the conflicts between Greek states were concerned, but she also stressed the importance of the Trojan Wars being used as a parallel to the glory of the battle of Plataea and the Persian Wars. The motif of undying fame is there in Simonides and Herodotus; 'The parallels are astonishingly clear'.²⁷ This point about parallel undying fame must be right, but we can say more about the divergences, for the conflicts are fundamental to what Herodotus was doing, and indeed in the same volume Aloni was more concerned to stress the quarrels visible in Herodotus' version.²⁸ Similarly the commentary of Flower and Marincola is sceptical, pointing out that given the incomplete lines in Simonides, there was a danger of a circular argument, and that on balance it was unlikely that the poem was a source.²⁹ More generally, Herodotus might have learned from praise poetry – and Simonides – 'how to see continuities of behaviour and outlook between generations'.³⁰

Nevertheless it is worth emphasising that a society which habitually sought heroic ancestors and *aitia* in the distant past was already comfortable with the idea of heroic parallels, and Simonides might therefore not have been quite so decisive. Certainly he was decisive in making a Homeric image of a very recent battle, and the Homeric elements and influences in Herodotus are abundant.³¹ But Herodotus expanded the range and referents of 'κλέος', and now that some

26 Boedeker 2002, 104; referring to Boedeker 2001.

27 2001, 131 ff.; quotation at 2002, 108.

28 Aloni 2001, 87, part of his argument for Spartan commission; also Flower/Marincola 2002, Appendix A. The importance of Demeter has also been stressed, fighting around the Demeter shrine and Herodotus' mention of a *thoma* by the goddess e.g. Boedeker 2001: yet this would be significant enough for many witnesses to mention, and Simonides need not be the only source for Herodotus. It throws into relief Herodotus' avoidance of the Spartan heroes.

29 See 2002, Appendix A, esp. p.317, and p.18f.; Cf. Boedeker 2001, 120–1: 'indeed the account of Plataea in the *Histories* proved to be the most fruitful resource for both Parsons and West in reconstructing and ordering the fragments'.

30 Marincola 2006, 16.

31 See e.g. Boedeker 2002; de Jong 2002; Pelling 2006, and references there.

of the initial excitement of the discovery has died down, we can approach this question from another angle. Rather than ask if Simonides was a ‘source’, we might ask if it could have exerted a rather different kind of influence, influence as a negative source. It is a rare case where one can compare minutely the differences between a poetic celebration and the Herodotean narrative.³²

It is indeed significant that Simonides brought to the Persian Wars an idealising and heroic aura of the Trojan Wars, and the epic resonances have been extensively discussed: the invocation of the Muses and of Homeric heroes, the creation of κλέος, and the heroic atmosphere of the Spartan heroes setting off from the Eurotas valley (fr. 11.20 ff. W²). Perhaps, however, we can also twist this round to point out that while Herodotus could continue the Homeric idea of κλέος, he also tried to diffuse and redistribute it and in some cases, remove κλέος altogether. This is not to deny any Homeric echoes in the restored text. But it may also be stressed that Herodotus’ narrative of the run-up to the battle of Plataea gives an impression distant indeed from a eulogising or celebratory treatment, let alone an epic treatment. I isolate some elements in this.

First, whose undying fame was at stake? How many different and divergent memories were at stake, how many different polis-centred versions of the Plataea campaign were available? A great many, for any who cared to ask. Herodotus gave the grand roll-call of troops on the Greek side in their battle line-up at the battle of Plataea: Lacedaemonians with Helots, Tegeans, Corinthians with some Potidaeans alongside, Orchomenians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, others from Lepreum, Mycenae, Tiryns, Phlius, Hermione, Eretria, Styra, Chalcis, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, Pale, Aegina, Megara, Plataea, and finally Athenians (9.28–30). We should add to this recollections from witnesses which might produce accounts differing from the simplified glorification of the Simonides version. A poetic celebration tries to pin down a single version with all the authority of Muse and poet. Herodotus’ version not only complicates but undermines and corrects pretensions.

One element we are certain of in Simonides fr. 11. 27 ff. W²: the Spartans setting out from Eurotas and Sparta accompanied by the horse-rearing sons of Zeus, ‘the Tyndarid heroes’, and Menelaus, ‘leaders of their ancestral polis’ (πατρίῳις ἡγεμόνες), and led by Pausanias (34).³³ Rather rapidly in the verses they came to the Isthmus and to Corinth, and to Megara: rapidly indeed, but they are fortified

32 The dangers of using segments reconstructed with help from Herodotus are obvious. However, the march from Sparta is relatively well preserved in the papyrus.

33 The Tyndaridae are restored, but very plausibly: fr. 11.31 W².

by the grand, Homeric departure with the heroes. This sounds very like an epiphany:³⁴

οἱ μὲν ἄρ' Εὐ]ρώταν κα[ὶ Σπάρτη]ς ἄστυ λιπόντ[ες	29
ὥρμησαν] Ζηνὸς παισὶ σὺν ἵπποδάμοις	30
Τυνδαρίδα]ς ἥρωσι καὶ εὐρυβίη] Μενελάω[ι	
ἐσθλοὶ πατ]ρώϊες ἡγεμόνες π[ό]λεος,	
τοὺς δ' υἱὸς θεοῖο Κλεο]μβ[ρ]ότου ἔξ[α]γ' ἄριστ[ος	
]αγ. Πανσανίης.	
αἴψα δ' ἴκοντ' Ἴσθμὸ]ν καὶ ἐπικλέα] ἔργα Κορίν[θ]ου	35
νήσου τ' ἐσχατιή]ν Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος	
καὶ Μέγαρ', ἀρχαίην Ν]ίσου πόλιν, ἔνθα περ ὦ[λλοι ...	

Herodotus' account could hardly be more different, and it is in essence a tale of procrastination, Spartan uncertainty, disguise and cover-up, misrepresentation and the strong impression that they were putting the likely success of Greek resistance at serious risk. A bare resumé of this long section will help underline just how elaborate and long-drawn out were the delays and deliberations at Sparta and the eventual march north from Sparta in Herodotus' version. Thus at 9.6 ff., the Athenians despair of the Spartans coming to help them; they move possessions to Salamis and send envoys to Sparta. The Athenian envoys and others give a long speech at Sparta about the Persian offer to let them live in Attica. They accuse the Spartans of breaking their word (9.7). At 9.8f, the Spartan Ephors postpone an answer, and they do this for nearly two weeks. Meanwhile the Isthmus wall is being completed. Finally (9.9) an answer comes through the intervention of Chileus a Tegean, who was influential in Sparta. He pointed out that the Athenians might change their minds and ruin Greece; the wall would not hold the Persians out.

And so finally at 9.10, in secret and before daybreak, the Ephors dispatch 5000 Spartiates and each one takes seven helots with them. This is done without telling the Athenian ambassadors, and they were 'entrusting the expedition to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus'. Herodotus explains how this was the case, for leadership would have gone to the king, Pleistarchus, but he was still a παῖς. King Cleombrotus had been with the troops building the Isthmus wall, but when he sacrificed, there was a solar eclipse; thus he brought back the troops and died soon after.

9.10.3–11.1. This is the crucial section:

34 See Hornblower 2001, 140 ff.

οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πausανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ...

'Some left Sparta with Pausanias, but the envoys, when day broke, know nothing of the departure and went to the ephors',

thinking that they would treat with the Persians. They accuse the Spartans of letting them down. But the Ephors say that the Spartans are already on the march, and there follows more dialogue, questioning, and the Athenians leave rapidly.

And to finish off:

9.12–13: The Argives had been trying to prevent the Spartans marching, and had promised Mardonius to do so. They dispatch a messenger to Mardonius and he thereupon withdraws from Attica for political and strategic reasons, for it was now clear that the Athenians would not come to terms.

9.14: Mardonius also hears that there is another body of Lacedaemonians, distinct from the army of Pausanias and sent on in advance, already in the Megarid. [This is puzzling: so there was already another – secret – Spartan army on the way even when Pausanias and army set out under cover of darkness?]

9.15 ff. There follows the build up of troops and tension in Boeotia, along the Asopus; the narrative proceeds to the factions and quarrelsome interchanges between Greeks and Greeks and between Greeks and Persians. They are still quarrelling about positions at 9.46.

This could hardly be more different from that heroic but rapid advance in Simonides reaching the Isthmus and Megara without incident or problem, and with the august support of Tyndaridae and Menelaus. The secret departure at night without magnificent fanfare and without gods or heroes in Herodotus contrasts with the fanfare and heroic status of Pausanias in Simonides.³⁵ It is secret even from the supposed allies, Athenians and others, and thus in essence a trick is played on them, leading them ever closer to Medising through sheer desperation. Moreover Herodotus' narrative puts the Ephors in control, for they dispatch the army and decide on Pausanias; Euryanax also goes with him. The Athenian envoys, still in the dark, therefore give an angry riposte which is as near as they get to saying that they will Medise. This heightens tension and augments the impression of a merely fragile Greek unity. Herodotus' Pausanias is accompanied by another prominent Spartiate, but of course there is no epiphany, no gods, no local hero.

35 As Flower/Marincola 2002 put it, on ἐξάγειν 9.10.1. Boedeker notes it more in passing 2001, 131f..

This renders the whole situation more complex politically and more interestingly fraught. What we should surmise is that Herodotus' narrative was deliberately trying to correct and undermine the kind of facile and easy heroic narrative that was created by Simonides (and no doubt others): this disjuncture deserves to be expressed somewhat more forcefully than in some discussions. The Simonides elegy is more than 'a well-known text from which he could differentiate his own version'.³⁶ Each city-state created its own memorials, in fierce competition with others, and the Simonides elegy, interesting though it is as a narrative longer than one would have expected, still seems to be creating an image of Spartans as wholly glorious and heroic, and as led by a great leader. If his treatment had influence and wider acceptance, it would serve to efface or dim any memories of what really happened (whatever did happen in those secret meetings in Sparta? Herodotus' narrative may not have the whole story either). It therefore seems to be one unexpectedly well preserved example of the kind of immediate glorification that started occurring soon after the Persian Wars, and which also reappears in the numerous Simonidean epigrams relating to the war.³⁷ The Eion epigrams in Athens shortly after also fostered an Homeric aura for the Athenians, but without naming the general in the present (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 183–6). Herodotus' last books are scattered with exotic and marvellous stories, epiphanies and ridiculous narratives which he often denies or disproves. While the Simonides elegy lends credence to the importance of epiphanies in the troubled times of the Persian invasions (Hornblower 2001), it should not lead us to suppose that this was all people knew or wanted to hear.

There is also the awkward fact that Pausanias was a highly problematic figure. In the flush of victory, Pausanias was no doubt a great hero, and Simonides' poem seems to reflect that; perhaps the Spartans and Pausanias even commissioned the poem, as Aloni suggested in an important examination of the Spartan dimension (Aloni 2001). But his reputation soon became tarnished by his arrogance, and this arrogance could even serve as an excuse for the Athenians to take over the Hellenic alliance. The poem must belong to that short period in which the Spartans and Pausanias could try to propagate some kind of heroic κλέος for him while his star was at its height. The historian, however, was not fixed to the contemporary views of that period or to Spartan attempts at self-glorification. He

36 Boedeker 2001, 132: 'The Plataea elegy then may have influenced Herodotus' narrative in negative as well as positive ways, by providing a well-known text from which he could differentiate his own version'.

37 Cf. also Proietti 2015 for interesting examination of other Persian War memorials and memorios; Vannicelli 2013, 109–20 for suggestive discussion of Naxos, and 95–108.

knew of Pausanias' Medising, mentioning his prospective marriage to a Persian nobleman's daughter, though admittedly he added the proviso 'if it is true...', 'having a desire to be τύραννος of Greece' (5.32). So in short it seems likely that Herodotus did much to determine a full and detailed account of the lead-up to the battle precisely because Plataea had been hijacked by Pausanias and the Spartans. Moreover, the poetic celebrations by Simonides and others did so much to lend the aura of an Homeric hero to the participants that the more messy reality needed to be recovered and set out in full detail. We note that Herodotus does not seem to alert us to this in the narrative of the Spartan expedition, he does not emphasise evidence or witnesses, but simply gives the narrative: it is only Simonides' poem which allows us to gather the existence of powerful and perhaps seductive alternatives.

4 Conclusions

Let us then bring Herodotus' Plataea narrative and Simonides' elegy into close relation to the several other tales, rumours and anecdotes that abound in the Persian Wars Books. There were the sensational stories about Scyllies the diver who was said to have swum for 80 stades to Artemisium: 'there are lots of other tall stories about him and also some true ones' (8.8.3: λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι ἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα). Herodotus, however, thinks he simply reached Artemisium by boat. There were the accounts of divine intervention, some told with caution, like the story told by Philippides to the Athenians and carefully set in indirect speech (6.105; and cf. 6.106).³⁸ There were accounts of undignified and cowardly behaviour offered by one or other Greek city about another. Such is the Athenian story told at length and in *oratio obliqua* about the Corinthians fleeing the battle of Salamis, before being met by a divine ship and turning back (8.94). It is an elaborate and circumstantial tale. In this case, Herodotus goes out of his way to say that this is only an Athenian story, and the rest of the Greeks are witnesses (μαρτυρεῖ) to the claims of the Corinthians that they fought bravely: μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. Yet he told the story: why? We may guess that it was a tale that had currency because of Athenian rumours and he thought it important to put it to rest explicitly in this way.³⁹

38 Hornblower 2001, 143f.

39 Note also that Simonides celebrated Corinthian prowess at Plataea: fr. 11.35 and frags. 15–16, with Flower/Marincola 2002, Appendix A.

Sensational accounts evidently existed about the behaviour of the Persians and the Persian king, not to mention the various Greeks, after the battle. Herodotus tells in detail an account of Xerxes' retreat by ship back to Asia which he also refutes in detail: it is a story of tyrannical behaviour which many Greeks would no doubt have loved (8.118–120), with Xerxes getting the Persian nobles to throw themselves overboard to lighten his retreating ship. The story is ringed by the opening introduction, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος (8.118.1): that Xerxes in fact retreated by Phoenician ship to Asia but when a storm hit, he made the Persian nobles throw themselves overboard to lighten the load; and when safely on land, he both rewarded the helmsman with a gold crown and then executed him for having destroyed so many Persian lives (8.118.4). Herodotus then refutes it elaborately, first with a spirited claim that had this really happened, no one could possibly doubt that it would have been the Phoenician rowers who would have had to drown (8.119.1: οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος). Then he added the significant material proof (μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον) that in fact Xerxes went via Abdera, gave the Abderites costly gifts, and made a pact of friendship (8.120). Likelihood and the evidence of the Abderites refute the storm story, but he told it perhaps precisely because it was a false story still current and popular.

There were also mysteries which many people claimed to be able to solve. Mardonius' body definitely disappeared, Herodotus says, and it was buried, but 'he cannot truly say' who buried him (τὸ ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ ...), for a great many people claimed to have done so (he names one), and a lot were rewarded accordingly by Mardonius' son (9.84). This sounds like a setting to rest of rumours and fantastic stories, as well as an exposure of the multiplicity of such tales even of this very recent period.

A comparison, then, of Herodotus' treatment with two outstandingly important verse celebrations reveals how the Herodotean narrative might silently correct or silently rationalise from competing and more fantastical traditions. And this helps us define more clearly certain characteristics of Herodotus' method and his mode of narrative. As often repeated, his principle was to tell τὰ λεγόμενα even if he did not believe them (e.g. 2.123.1). But he does not necessarily do this indiscriminately, and sometimes he openly declared a story to be unlikely or simply false. One senses that he was more forgiving for λόγοι which constituted a city's views of its origins, but he certainly takes pains to tell and then expose the more absurd, malicious or simply false λόγοι relating to the Persian Wars. The refutation of the story of Xerxes' sea-borne retreat (above) is done with the techniques of argument and proof similar to those with which he refuted Greek stories

about Heracles in Egypt (2.45.1, ἀνεπισκέπτως, εὐήθης ... ὁ μῦθος), and wrong theories about the Nile, and the techniques which also belonged to the nascent arts of persuasion and of scientific enquiry. The ridiculous stories of the Greeks relating to the Egyptians could be paralleled by ridiculous stories related to the Persian Wars. This method effectively uses new tools to rationalise, and it is done explicitly (perhaps unlike the rationalising of Hellanicus or Acusilaus). For the ancient Minyae and the steps by which the Spartans decided to join the defence of central Greece, we are not helped by overt signals of rationalisation or sifting of testimonies, but the poetic treatments help us guess how Herodotus might have selected or rejected various implausible versions and ‘false tales’. The differences of genre between epinician and the Simonidean elegy on the one hand and Herodotus’ ἱστορίαι are laid clear. We may suspect that Herodotus’ narratives even of mythical times have been significantly rationalised by him from the mass of λόγοι and ἄγρια; and for the Persian Wars, the differences between the military boasts of the city-states could reinforce profound political implications. So while Herodotus undoubtedly signalled an aim to preserve κλέος in the Proem, we should be careful not to assimilate this too rapidly or systematically to the Homeric approach to κλέος. The ‘New Simonides’ clarifies the kind of tension arising between the authority and memorialising of the poets, and that of the new genre of ἱστορίη and its critical methods.

List of Contributors

Reinhold Bichler is a retired professor of Ancient History at the University of Innsbruck, Austria. The main subjects of his research activities are the history of political ideas, especially ancient utopias, Greek historiography and ethnography, especially Herodotus and Ctesias, and the reception of ancient history, especially Alexander and the concept of Hellenism.

Angus Bowie was until 2016 Lobel Praelector in Classics at The Queen's College and CUF Lecturer in Classical Languages and Literature in the University of Oxford. His main publications are *The Poetic Dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus* (1981), *Aristophanes: myth, ritual and comedy* (1993), commentaries on Herodotus 8 (2007), *Odyssey* 13–14 (2013) and *Iliad* 3 (forthcoming), as well as articles on Greek religion, tragedy and Virgil. He is currently interested in Greek relations with Eastern cultures and working on a commentary on *Iliad* 21–4 for the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla.

Paul Demont is professor at Université Paris-Sorbonne and head of the PhD Programme 'Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds', series editor of *Hellenica* at Les Presses universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, and of the *Antiquité* series at Le Livre de Poche. He has written extensively on archaic and classical Greek literature (especially on medical texts: e.g. 'The Tongue and the Reed: Organs and Instruments in the Philosophical Part of Hippocratic Regimen', *JHS* 134, 2014, 12–22), and its reception (e.g. 'El motivo de lo 'tardío' en *La muerte en Venecia* de Thomas Mann y la puesta en escena de las referencias a la antigüedad', *Estudios Clásicos* 147, 2015, 7–28).

P. J. Finglass is Henry Overton Wills Professor of Greek and Head of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Bristol. He has published editions of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (2018), *Ajax* (2011), and *Electra* (2007), of Stesichorus (2014), and of Pindar's *Pythian Eleven* (2007) with Cambridge University Press.

Nikolay P. Grintser became the Chair of the newly-established Department of Classics at the Russian State University of the Humanities in 1994. Since 2013 he has been the Director of the School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Chair of the Centre for Classical Studies at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. In 2016 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. As a Visiting Fellow he

has worked at Harvard University and the Center for Hellenic Studies, the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, the Free University, Berlin, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the Swedish College of Advanced Studies. He has published several monographs in Russian, including *The Emergence of Literary Theory in Ancient Greece and India* (together with Pavel A. Grintser) and commentaries on Homer and Sophocles' *Antigone*.

K. Scarlett Kingsley is an Assistant Professor in the Classics Department at Agnes Scott College. Her research focuses on Herodotus and Thucydides and their relation to contemporary philosophical debates. She is currently completing a book entitled *Herodotus and the Presocratics: Inquiry and Intellectual Culture in the Late Fifth Century*, and co-authoring a monograph (with Tim Rood) on the end of the *Histories*, *Looking to the End: Determinism, Luxury, and Empire in Herodotus' Histories*.

Ioannis M. Konstantakos studied classical philology at the universities of Athens and Cambridge and is now Associate Professor of Ancient Greek Literature at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. His scholarly interests include ancient comedy, ancient narrative, folklore, and the relations between Greek and Near-Eastern literatures and cultures. He has published four books and many articles on these topics. He has received scholarships from the Greek State Scholarships Foundation and the «Alexander S. Onassis» Public Benefit Foundation. In 2009 his two-volume study *Akicharos: The Tale of Ahiqar in Ancient Greece* (Athens 2008) was awarded the prize of the Academy of Athens for the best monograph in classical philology. In 2012 his book *Legends and Fairytales of the Land of Gold* (Athens 2011) was shortlisted for the Greek state prize for a critical essay.

John Marincola is Leon Golden Professor of Classics at Florida State University in Tallahassee. His main interests are in Greek and Roman historiography and rhetoric. His publications include *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (1997), *Greek Historians* (2001), *Herodotus: Histories Book IX* (with Michael Flower, 2002), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (2007), and a collection of translated Greek and Latin texts with notes, *On Writing History from Herodotus to Herodian* (2017).

Gregory Nagy is the author of *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979; 2nd ed., with

new Introduction, 1999). Other publications include *Homer the Preclassic* (University of California Press 2010; paperback 2017) and *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours* (Harvard University Press 2013). With Stephen A. Mitchell, he co-edited the second edition (2000) of Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (1960), co-authoring a new Introduction. Since 2000, he has been the Director of the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC, while continuing to teach at the Harvard campus in Cambridge as the Francis Jones Professor of Classical Greek Literature and Professor of Comparative Literature.

Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi is Lecturer in Ancient Greek Philology at the Democritus University of Thrace. She is the author of three books and fifteen articles in Greek and English. Her book publications focus on Euripides' *Bacchae* and Aeschylus' fragmentary *Lycurgeia*. In her articles she touches on aspects of the reception of ancient Greek drama, metatheatrical approaches to performance, choral lyric poetry, and historical prose; she is also preparing an article on the contrast of poetry with history in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

Christopher Pelling is Emeritus Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford University. His latest book is a commentary on Herodotus 6, co-written with Simon Hornblower, in the Cambridge green-and-yellow series; his other books include commentaries on Plutarch's *Lives of Antony* (Cambridge, 1988) and *Caesar* (Oxford, 2011), *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (Routledge, 2000), *Plutarch and History* (Classical Press of Wales, 2002), and, with Maria Wyke, *Twelve Voices from Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2014). His *Herodotus and the Question Why* is forthcoming from Texas University Press, and he will then be collaborating with John Marincola on green-and-yellow commentaries on Thucydides Books 6 and 7.

Rosalind Thomas is College Tutor in Ancient History and Professor of Greek History at Balliol College, University of Oxford. She researches on Greek history, culture and historiography. She has written *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1989), *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992), and *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2000), and various articles on Greek law, historiography, and performance culture. She is currently working on a book on Polis and Island histories. She taught at Royal Holloway and Bedford College, University of London from 1987 to 2004, moving to Oxford in 2004.

Maria G. Xanthou is a Teaching Fellow in Greek literature and language at the University of Leeds, UK, and a Harvard CHS Associate in Pindaric Studies. She

has published on Greek lyric poetry, both monodic and choral (Stesichorus, Pindar and Bacchylides), Aristophanic and other Attic comedy of the 5th c. BC), Attic rhetoric (Isocrates, Demosthenes), ancient theories of rhetoric (definition and use of asyndeton), the history of emotions, the history of classical scholarship (German classical scholarship of the 19th c.), textual criticism, e-learning, ICT use for teaching classical languages, and the integration of ICT methodologies in the academic curriculum. Her latest book on Isocrates' use of *eunoia* and 4th c. BC interstate relations is under review.

Vasiliki Zali is Co-ordinator of the University of Liverpool Schools Classics Project and an Honorary Research Fellow of University College London (UCL). She holds a PhD in Classics from UCL. Her research interests lie in Herodotus and his reception, as well as in the use of narrative techniques and rhetoric in classical Greek historiography. She is the author of *The Shape of Herodotean Rhetoric* (Brill, 2014) and co-editor of the *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Herodotus in Antiquity and Beyond* (Brill, 2016).

Bibliography

- Africa, T.W. (1982), "Worms and the death of kings: a cautionary note on disease and history", *Classical Antiquity* 1, 1–17.
- Agut-Labordère, D. (2011–2012), "Le roi mange: le pharaon dans les contes égyptiens du 1er millénaire", *Cahier des Thèmes transversaux. Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité* 11, 411–415.
- Agut-Labordère, D./Chauveau, M. (2011), *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne. Une anthologie de la littérature en égyptien démotique*, Paris.
- Albracht, F. (1895), *Kampf und Kampfschilderung bei Homer*, Naumburg on the Saale (Engl. transl., *Battle and Battle Description in Homer*, by P. Jones et al., London, 2005).
- Allen, J.P./Der Manuelian, P. (2005), *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta.
- Aloni, A. (2001), "The poem of Simonides' Plataea Elegy and the circumstances of its performance", in: Boedeker/Sider (eds.), 86–105.
- Althoff, J. (1993), "Herodot und die griechische Medizin", in: K. Döring/G. Wöhrle (eds.), *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption*, Bamberg, 1–16.
- Aly, W. (1921), *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen. Eine Untersuchung über die volkstümlichen Elemente der altgriechischen Prosaerzählung*, Göttingen (2nd edn. by L. Huber, Göttingen, 1969).
- Amandry, P. (1939), "Convention religieuse conclue entre Delphes et Skiathos", *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 63, 183–219.
- Apffel, H. (1957), *Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot (3.80-2)*, Diss. Erlangen.
- Armayer, O.K. (1985), *Herodotus' autopsy of the Fayoum: Lake Moeris and the Labyrinth of Egypt*, Amsterdam.
- (2004), "Herodotus, Hecataeus and the Persian Wars", in: V. Karageorghis/I. Taifacos (eds.), *The World of Herodotus. Proceedings of an International Conference. Nicosia, September 18–21, 2003*, Nicosia, 321–335.
- Arnold, D. (1977), "Hathorkuh", in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1041.
- Asheri, D. (1990), *Erodoto, Le Storie, Libro III, Introduzione e commento di D. A., testo critico di S.M. Medaglia, traduzione di A. Fraschetti*, Milan.
- (1998), "Platea vendetta delle Termopili: alle origini di un motivo teologico erodoteo", in: M. Sordi (ed.), *Responsabilità, perdono e vendetta nel mondo antico*, Milan, 65–86.
- Asheri, D./Corcella, A. (2003), *Erodoto, Le Storie, Libro VIII: la vittoria di Temistocle*, Milan.
- Asheri, D./Lloyd, A.B./Corcella, A. (2007), *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV* (ed. O. Murray/A. Moreno, with a contribution by M. Brosius, transl. B. Graziosi/M. Rossetti/C. Dus/V. Cazzato), Oxford–New York.
- Assmann, J. (2001), *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca–London.
- (2011), *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance and Political Imagination*, Cambridge (Engl. transl. of *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, Munich, 1992).
- Austin, M. (2008), "The Greeks in Libya", in: G.R. Tsetschlade (ed.), *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, vol. 2, Leiden–Boston, 187–217.
- Austin, N. (1994), *Helen of Troy and her shameless phantom*, Ithaca.
- Bakker, E.J. (2002), "The Making of History: Herodotus' *historiēs apodexis*", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 3–32.

- (2006), “The syntax of *historiē*”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 92–102.
- Bakker, E.J./Jong, I.J. F. de/Wees, H. van (eds.) (2002), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, Leiden–Boston–Cologne.
- Balcer, J.M. (1987), *Herodotus and Bisitun: Problems in Ancient Persian Historiography*. Historia Einzelschrift 49, Stuttgart.
- Baragwanath, E. (2008), *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus*, Oxford.
- (forthcoming), “History, ethnography, and aetiology in Herodotus' Libyan logos”, in: C. Constantakopoulou/M. Fragoulaki (eds.), *The Shaping of the Past: Greek Historiography, Mythography, and Epigraphic Memory*. *Histos* Supplement.
- Baragwanath, E./Bakker, M. de (eds.) (2012a), *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus*, Oxford.
- (2012b), “Introduction: myth, truth and narrative in Herodotus' *Histories*”, in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 1–56.
- Bassi, K. (2014), “Croesus' offerings and the value of the past in Herodotus' *Histories*”, in: C. Pieper/J. Ker (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII*, Leiden–Boston, 173–196.
- Baud, M. (1998), “Une épithète de Rêdjedef et la prétendue tyrannie de Chéops. Études sur la statue de Rêdjedef, II”, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 98, 15–30.
- Benardete, S. (1969), *Herodotean Inquiries*, The Hague.
- Bencsik, A. (1994), *Schelmentum und Macht. Studien zum Typus des σοφὸς ἀνὴρ bei Herodot*, Bonn.
- Bergman, J. (1968), *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien*, Uppsala.
- Bergman, J. (1980), “Isis”, in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 186–203.
- Berlandini, J. (1983), “La déesse bucéphale: Une iconographie particulière de l'Hathor memphite”, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 83, 33–50.
- Bichler, R. (2000), *Herodots Welt. Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte. Mit Anlagen von D. Feil und W. Sieberer*, Berlin.
- (2001), *Herodots Welt: Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte*, Berlin.
- (2007), “Herodots *Histories* unter dem Aspekt der Raumerfassung”, in: M. Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike*, Mainz, 67–80.
- (2011), “Die Fahrt zu den Grenzen der Erde. Von Herodot bis zur Alexander-Historiographie”, *Gymnasium* 118, 315–344.
- (2013a), “Die analogen Strukturen in der Abstufung des Wissens über die Dimensionen von Raum und Zeit in Herodots *Histories*”, in: K. Geus/E.K. Irwin/T. Poiss (eds.), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien*. Zivilisationen und Geschichte 22, Frankfurt am Main, 17–41.
- (2013b), “Zur Veranschaulichung geographischen Wissens in Herodots *Histories*”, in: D. Boschung/T. Greub/J. Hammerstaedt (eds.), *Geographische Kenntnisse und ihre konkreten Ausformungen*. *Morphomata* 5, Munich, 74–89.
- (2014), “Der Antagonismus von Asien und Europa. Eine historiographische Konzeption aus Kleinasien?”, in: J. Fischer (ed.), *Der Beitrag Kleinasiens zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Wien, 3.–5. November 2010*, Vienna, 9–20.

- (2016), “Persian Geography and the Ionians. Herodotus”, in: S. Bianchetti/M.R. Cataudella/H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Geography. The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, Leiden–Boston, 3–20.
- Bierl, A./Lardinois, A. (eds.) (2016), *The Newest Sappho. P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1–4*, Leiden–Boston.
- Blackman, A.M. (1925), “Oracles in ancient Egypt”, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, 249–255.
- Bleeker, C.J. (1973), *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, Leiden.
- (1975), *The Rainbow: A Collection of Studies in the Science of Religion*, Leiden.
- Blomqvist, J. (1979), *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno’s Periplus*, Lund.
- Boedeker, D. (2001a), “Heroic historiography. Simonides and Herodotus on Plataea”, in: Boedeker/Sider (eds.), 120–134.
- (2002), “Epic heritage and mythical patterns in Herodotus”, in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 97–116.
- (2003), “Pedestrian fatalities: the prosaics of death in Herodotus”, in: Derow/Parker (eds.), 17–36.
- (2007), “The view from Eleusis: Demeter and the Persian Wars”, in: Bridges/Hall/Rhodes (eds.), 65–82.
- Boedeker, D./Sider, D. (eds.) (2001b), *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, Oxford–New York.
- Bolchert, P. (1908), *Aristoteles Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen. Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* Heft 15, Berlin.
- Bonnet, H. (1952), *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin.
- Bowie, A.M. (1993), *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge.
- (2007), *Herodotus: Histories Book VIII*, Cambridge.
- (2009), “Athens and Delphi in Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*”, in: S. Goldhill/E. Hall (eds.), *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition*, Cambridge, 208–231.
- (2013), “‘Baleful signs’: letters and deceit in Herodotus”, in O. Hodkinson/P. Rosenmeyer/E. Bracke (eds.), *Epistolary Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*, Leiden–Boston, 71–83.
- Bowie, A.M. (2012), “Mythology and the expedition of Xerxes”, in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 267–286.
- Bowie, E.L. (2001), “Ancestors of historiography in early Greek elegiac and iambic poetry”, in: N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian’s Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford, 45–66.
- Bowie, E.L., “Historical narrative and early classical Greek elegy”, in: D. Konstan/K. Raafaub (eds.) (2010), *Epic and History*, Chichester, 145–66 (new edn., 2014).
- Bowie, E.L. (2018), “The lesson of Book 2”, in: E.K. Irwin/T. Harrison (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus*, 53–74.
- Bowra, C.M. (1964), *Pindar*, Oxford.
- Brannan, P.T. (1963), “Herodotus and history: the constitutional debate preceding Darius’ accession”, *Traditio* 19, 427–438.
- Branscome, D. (2010), “Herodotus and the map of Aristagoras”, *Classical Antiquity* 29, 1–44.
- Braswell, B.K. (1988), *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*, Berlin–New York.
- (1998), *A Commentary on Pindar Nemean Nine*, Berlin–New York.
- Breasted, J.H. (1906), *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, vol. 4, Chicago.

- Bremmer, J.N. (1987a), "Oedipus and the Greek Oedipus complex", in: Bremmer (ed.) (1987b), 41–59.
- (ed.) (1987b), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London.
- Bresciani, E. (2007), *Letteratura e poesia dell' antico Egitto: Cultura e società attraverso i testi*, Torino.
- Briant, P. (2002), *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake.
- Bridges, E./Hall, E./Rhodes, P.J. (eds.) (2007), *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*, Oxford.
- Brock, R. (1991), "The emergence of democratic ideology", *Historia* 40, 160–169.
- Brooks, C.A. (1908), *The Egyptian Lake of Moeris: The Accounts of Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus as Verified by Modern Discovery and Research*, Diss. Princeton.
- Brown, R.H. (1892), *The Fayum and Lake Moeris*, London.
- Broze, M. (1996), *Mythe et roman en Égypte ancienne. Les aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le Papyrus Chester Beatty I*, Leuven.
- Brunner, H. (1986), "Trunkenheit" in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6, Wiesbaden, 773–777.
- Brunner, H. (1970), "Zum Verständnis der archaisierenden Tendenzen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit", *Saeculum* 21, 151–161.
- Brunner, H. (1975), "Archaismus", in: W. Helck/E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 386–395.
- Brunner-Traut, E. (1965), *Altägyptische Märchen*, Düsseldorf–Köln.
- Burkert, W. (1985), "Herodot über den Namen die Götter. Polytheismus als historisches Problem", *Museum Helveticum* 42, 121–132 (repr. in Engl. transl. as "Herodotus on the names of the gods: polytheism as a historical problem", in: R.V. Munson (2013) (ed.), *Herodotus*, vol. 2, 198–208).
- Burkert, W. (1990), "Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen", in: G. Nenci/O. Reverdin (eds.), *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs*, Vandœuvres–Genève, 1–32.
- Burstein, S.M. (1996), "Images of Egypt in Greek historiography", in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 591–604.
- Busetto, A./Loukas, S.C. (eds.) (2015), *Ricerche a confronto. Dialoghi di antichità classiche e del vicino oriente, Bologna–Roma Tre–Torino 2012*, Zermeghedo.
- Buxton, A.H. (2002), *Lydian Royal Dedications in Greek Sanctuaries*, Diss. University of California, Berkeley.
- Buxton, R. (ed.) (2000), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Calame, C. (1990), "Narrating the foundation of a city: the symbolic birth of Cyrene", in: L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore–London, 277–341.
- Camino, R.A. (1952), "Gebel es-Silsilah no. 100", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 38, 46–61.
- Canevaro, M. (2013), *The Documents in the Attic Orators. Laws and Decrees in the Public Speeches of the Demosthenic Corpus*, Oxford.
- Cartledge, P.A./Greenwood, E. (2002), "Herodotus as critic: truth, fiction, polarity", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 351–371.
- Cawkwell, G.L. (1975), "Thucydides' judgment of Periclean strategy", *Yale Classical Studies* 24, 53–70.
- Černý, J. (1962), "Egyptian oracles", in: R.A. Parker (ed.), *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum*, Providence, RI, 35–48.
- Chassinat, É. (1966–1968), *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, Cairo.

- Christ, M. (1994), "Herodotean kings and historical inquiry", *Classical Antiquity* 13, 167–202.
- Cobet, J. (1971), *Herodots Exkurse und die Frage der Einheit seines Werkes*, Historia Einzelschriften 17, Wiesbaden.
- (2002), "The organization of time in the Histories", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 387–414.
- Collard, C./Cropp, M.J./Gilbert, J. (2004), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, vol. 2, Oxford.
- Connor, W.R. (1971), *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens*, Princeton.
- Cooley, W.D. (ed.) (1844), *Larcher's Notes on Herodotus: Historical and Critical Comments on the History of Herodotus*, vol. 1, London.
- Corcella, A. (1984), *Erodoto e l'analogia*, Palermo.
- (2007), Commentary on Herodotus Book IV, in: Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella (eds.) (2007).
- Coulon, L./Giovannelli-Jouanna, P./Kimmel-Clauzet, F. (eds.) (2013), *Hérodote et l'Égypte. Regards croisés sur le livre II de l'Enquête d'Hérodote*, Lyon.
- Coulon, L. (2013), "Osiris chez Hérodote", in: Coulon/Giovannelli-Jouanna/Kimmel-Clauzet (eds.), 167–190.
- Crahay, R. (1956), *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote*, Paris.
- Craik, E.M. (2015), *The "Hippocratic" Corpus: Content and Context*, London–New York.
- Crotty, K. (1982), *Song and Action: The Victory Odes of Pindar*, Baltimore.
- Cubitt, G. (2007), *History and Memory*, Oxford.
- Daly, L.W. (1980), "Miltiades, Aratus and compound fractures", *American Journal of Philology* 101, 59–60.
- Dan, A. (2013), "Achaemenid world representation in Herodotus Histories. Some geographic examples of cultural translation", in: K. Geus/E.K. Irwin/T. Poiss (eds.), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien*. Zivilisationen und Geschichte 22, Frankfurt am Main, 83–121.
- Darbo-Peschanski, C. (1987), *Le discours du particulier. Essai sur l'Enquête Hérodotéenne*, Paris.
- Daressy, G. (1908), "La stèle de la fille de Chéops", *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 30, 1–10.
- Darnell, J.C. (1995), "Hathor returns to Medamûd", *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 22, 47–94.
- Daumas, F. (1968), "Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 95, 1–17.
- (1977), "Hathor" and "Hathorfeste", in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1024–1039.
- Daux, G. (1957), "Mys au Ptôion (Hérodote, VIII, 135)", *Hommages W. Déonna, Latomus* 28, 157–162.
- David, J. (2006), *Building Kleos. Objects, Inquiry, and Memory in Herodotus' Early Logoi*, Diss. The Pennsylvania State University.
- Davies, N. de G. (1905–1906), *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, parts II, III, IV, London.
- de Bakker, M. (2012), Herodotus' Proteus: myth, history, enquiry and storytelling", in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 107–126.
- de Jong, I.J.F., (2002), "Narrative unity and units", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 245–266.
- (2012), "The Helen *logos* and Herodotus' fingerprint", in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 127–142.

- (2013), “Narratological aspects of the *Histories* of Herodotus”, in: Munson (ed.), vol. 1, 253–291.
- (2014), *Narratology and Classics. A Practical Guide*, Oxford.
- De Meulenaere, H. (1951), *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie (II, 147 – III, 15). Bijdrage tot het historisch-kritisch onderzoek van Herodotos*” gegevens in het licht van de Egyptische en andere contemporaine bronnen, Leuven.
- Dean-Jones, L./Rosen, R. (eds.) (2016), *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic. Papers presented at the XIIIth International Hippocrates Colloquium (Austin, Texas, August 2008)*, Leiden–Boston.
- Deichgräber, K. (1971), *Die Epidemien und das Corpus Hippocraticum* (2nd edn; first edn. 1933), Berlin.
- Del Chiaro, M.A. (ed.) (1986), *Corinthia. Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, Columbia, MO.
- Delcourt, M. (1938), *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 83, Liège–Paris.
- (1944), *Œdipe ou la légende du conquérant*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 104, Liège–Paris.
- Demont, P. (1988), “Hérodote et les pestilences (Note sur Hdt VI, 27; VII, 171; VIII, 115–117)”, *Revue de Philologie* 62, 7–13.
- (1990), “Les oracles delphiques concernant les pestilences et Thucydide”, *Kernos* 3, 147–156.
- (1995), “Secours et vengeance: note sur τιμωρία chez Hérodote”, *Ktèma* 20, 37–45.
- (1999), “Εὐλάβεια ἀπειρία δυσπείρη: Observations sur la thérapeutique dans le début du traité des Humeurs”, in: I. Garofalo/A. Lami/D. Manetti/A. Roselli (eds.), *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum, Atti del IXe Colloque international hippocratique (Pisa 25–29 settembre 1996)*, Florence, 183–202.
- (2009a), “Figures of Inquiry in Herodotos’s Inquiries”, *Mnemosyne* 62, 179–205.
- (2009b), “L’ancienneté de la médecine hippocratique: un essai de bilan”, in: A. Attia/G. Buisson/M.J. Geller (eds.), *Advances in Mesopotamian Medicine from Hammurabi to Hippocrates*, Leiden–Boston, 129–149.
- (2011), “La ΠΟΝΟΙΑ divine chez Hérodote (III, 108) et Protagoras (Platon, Protagoras)”, *Méthexis* 14, 67–85.
- (2013), “The causes of the Athenian plague and Thucydides”, in: A. Tsakmakis/M. Tamiolaki (eds.), *Thucydides between History and Literature*, Berlin–Boston, 73–87.
- (2014), Review of Hippocrate, Pronostic, Texte établi et traduit par J. Jouanna, Paris, 2013, *Revue des Études Grecques* 127, 221–227.
- Demos, M. (1994), “Callicles’ quotation of Pindar in the *Gorgias*”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96, 85–107.
- Derchain, P. (1972), *Hathor Quadrifrons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien*, Leiden.
- Der Manuelian, P. (2015), “Blond hair in the tomb of Meresankh?”, in: *Classical Inquiries* 2015.08.19 <http://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/?s=Manuelian>
- Derow, P./Parker, R. (2003) (eds.), *Herodotus and his World. Essays for a Conference in Memory of George Forrest*, Oxford.
- Detienne, M. (1967), *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris (Engl. transl. by J. Lloyd as *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, New York, 1996).
- DeVries, K. (2002), “The throne of Midas?”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 106, 275.

- Dewald, C. (1987), "Narrative surface and authorial voice in Herodotus' Histories", *Arethusa* 20, 147–170.
- (1993), "Reading the world: the interpretation of objects in Herodotus' Histories", in: R.M. Rosen/J. Farrell (eds.), *Nomodeiktēs. Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald*, Ann Arbor, 55–71.
- (1997), "Wanton kings, pickled heroes, and gnomic founding fathers: strategies of meaning at the end of Herodotus' histories", in: D.H. Roberts/F.M. Dunn/D.P. Fowler (eds.), *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, Princeton, 62–82.
- (1999), "The figured stage: focalizing the initial narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides", in: N. Felson/D. Konstan/T. Falkner (eds.), *Contextualizing Classics: Ideology, Performance, Dialogue*, Lanham, MD, 229–261.
- (2003), "Form and content: the question of tyranny in Herodotus", in: K.A. Morgan (ed.), *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Discontents in Ancient Greece*, Austin, TX 25–58.
- (2006), "Humour and danger in Herodotus", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 145–164.
- (2012), "Myth and legend in Herodotus' first book", in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 59–86.
- Dewald, C./Marincola, J. (eds.) (2006b), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge.
- Diels, H. (1887), "Herodot und Hekataios", *Hermes* 22, 411–444.
- Dilke, O.A.W. (1985), *Greek and Roman Maps*, London.
- Diller, A. (1952), *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers, with a New Text of the Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, New York.
- Diller, H. (1934), *Wanderarzt und Aitiologie* (Philologus Supplementband 26.3), Leipzig.
- Dorati, M. (1999–2000), "Le testimonianze relative alla περίοδος τῆς γῆς di Ecateo", *Geographia Antiqua* 8–9, 120–127.
- Dougherty, C. (1993), *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, New York–Oxford.
- Drexler, H. (1972), *Herodot-Studien*, Hildesheim.
- Dunham, D./Simpson, W.K. (1974), *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh. G 7530–7540*, Boston.
- Ehrenberg, V. (1966), *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum*, Stuttgart (1st edn. Leipzig, 1921).
- Eichholz, D.E. (ed.) (1965), *Theophrastus. De lapidibus*, Oxford.
- Elderkin, G.W. (1941), "The golden lion of Croesus", *Archaeological Papers* 2, 2–3.
- El-Sayed, R. (1982), *La déesse Neith de Saïs*, Cairo.
- Elsner, J./Rutherford, I. (eds.) (2005), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, Oxford.
- Emmons, S.W. (1991), *Elements of Presocratic thought in the Histories of Herodotus*, Diss. Indiana University Bloomington.
- Engels, J. (2013), "Barthold Georg Niebuhrs Berliner Akademieabhandlung Über die Geographie Herodots (1812). Ihre Bedeutung für die Erforschung der herodoteischen Geographie und kartographische Rekonstruktionsversuche des herodoteischen Weltbilds", in: K. Geus/E.K. Irwin/T. Poiss (eds.), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien*. Zivilisationen und Geschichte 22, Frankfurt am Main, 187–207.
- Erbse, H. (1956), "Der erste Satz im Werke Herodots", in: *Festschrift Bruno Snell*, Munich, 209–222.
- (1960–61), "Anmerkungen zu Herodot", *Glotta* 39, 215–230.
- (1981), "Die Funktion der Novellen im Werke Herodots", in: W. Marg/G. Kurz/D. Müller/W. Nicolai (eds.), *Gnomosyne. Menschliches Denken und Handeln in der frühgriechischen Literatur*. *Festschrift für Walter Marg zum 70. Geburtstag*, Munich, 251–269.

- (1991), *Fiktion und wahrheit im Werke des Herodots*, Göttingen.
- (1992), *Studien zum Verständnis Herodots*, Berlin–New York.
- (1955), “Vier Bemerkungen zu Herodot”, *Rheinisches Museum* 98, 99–120.
- Evans, J.A.S. (2013), “Oral tradition in Herodotus”, in: Munson (ed.), vol. 1, 12–23.
- (1961), “The dream of Xerxes and the ‘nomoi’ of the Persians”, *Classical Journal* 57, 109–111.
- (1963), “Herodotus and the problem of the ‘Lake of Moeris’”, *Classical World* 56, 275–277.
- (1965), “Despotes nomos”, *Athenaeum* 43, 142–153.
- (1981), “Notes on the debate of the Persian grandees in Herodotus 3. 80–82”, *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 7, 79–84.
- (2013), “Oral tradition in Herodotus”, in: Munson (ed.) vol. 1, 12–23.
- Farrar, C. (1988), *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
- Faulkner, R.O. (1973), *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, Warminster.
- (2010), *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. C. Andrews, London.
- Fehling, D. (1971), *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot. Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots*, Berlin–New York.
- (1989), *Herodotus and his ‘Sources’: Citation, Invention, and Narrative Art* (Engl. transl. of Fehling 1971 by J.G. Howie), ARCA 21, Leeds.
- Fenik, B. (1968), *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Descriptions*, Hermes Einzelschriften 21, Wiesbaden.
- Fentress, J./Wickham, C. (1992), *Social Memory*, Oxford.
- Ferrill, A. (1978), “Herodotus on tyranny”, *Historia* 25, 385–398.
- Finglass, P.J. (2006), “The interpolated curse”, *Hermes* 134, 257–268.
- (2007), *Sophocles. Electra*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 44, Cambridge.
- (2011), *Sophocles. Ajax*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 48, Cambridge.
- (2018), *Sophocles. Oedipus the King*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 57, Cambridge.
- Firchow, O. (1957), *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit, aus dem Nachlass von Kurt Sethe*, vol. 1, Berlin.
- Fischer-Elfert, H.-W. (1987), “Der Pharao, die Magier und der General — Die Erzählung des Papyrus Vandier”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 44, 5–21.
- (1996), “Die Arbeit am Text: Altägyptische Literaturwerke aus philologischer Perspektive”, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 499–513.
- Fisher, N.R.E. (1992), *Hybris: a Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*, Warminster.
- Flory, S. (1987), *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus*, Detroit.
- Flower, H.I. (1991), “Herodotus and Delphic traditions about Croesus”, in: M.A. Flower/M. Toher (eds.), *Georgica. Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell*, London, 57–77.
- Flower, M.A. (2006), “Herodotus and Persia”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 274–289.
- Flower, M.A./Marincola, J. (2002), *Herodotus: Histories Book IX*, Cambridge.
- Focke, F. (1927), *Herodot als Historiker*, Stuttgart.
- Forbiger, A. (1877), *Handbuch der Alten Geographie. Bd. 1: Historische Einleitung und mathematische und physische Geographie der Alten*, Hamburg (1st edn. 1847).
- Ford, A. (2002), *The Origins of Criticism: Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece*, Princeton–Oxford.

- (2006), “Herodotus and the poets”, *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics* 9, 1–6 [url: <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/ford/090606.pdf>, accessed on 8/11/2017].
- Fornara, C.W. (1971), *Herodotus: An Interpretative Essay*, Oxford.
- (1983), *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.
- Forsdyke, S. (2006), “Herodotus, political history and political thought”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 224–241.
- Foster, E. (2012a), “Thermopylae and Pylos, with reference to the Homeric Background”, in: Foster/Lateiner (eds.), 185–214.
- Foster, E./Lateiner, D. (eds.) (2012b), *Thucydides and Herodotus*, Oxford.
- Fowler, R.L. (1996), “Herodotus and his contemporaries”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116, 62–87.
- (2003a), “‘Tradition’ in Herodotus: the foundation of Cyrene”, in: Derow/Parker (eds.), 153–70.
- (2003b), “Herodotus and Athens”, in: Derow/Parker (eds.), 305–318.
- (2006), “Herodotus and his prose predecessors”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 29–45.
- (2013), *Early Greek Mythography*, vol. 2, Commentary, Oxford.
- Frankfort, H. (1948), *Kingship and the Gods. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*, Chicago.
- Frasconi, M. (2005), “Una citazione soloniana in Erodoto”, *Prometheus* 31, 229–242.
- Friedman, R. (2006), “Location and dislocation in Herodotus”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 165–177.
- Friedrich, W.-H. (1956), *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias*, Göttingen (Engl. transl. by G. Wright and P. Jones, London, 2003).
- (1973), “Der Tod des Tyrannen: Die poetische Gerechtigkeit der alten Geschichtsschreiber – und Herodot”, *Antike und Abendland* 18, 97–129.
- Froidefond, C. (1971), *Le mirage égyptien dans la littérature grecque d’Homère à Aristote*, Aix-en-Provence.
- Gagné, R. (2013), *Ancestral Fault in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- Galinsky, G.K. (1972), *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the twentieth century*, Oxford.
- Gammie, J. (1986), “Herodotus on kings and tyrants: objective historiography or conventional portraiture?”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, 171–195.
- Gantz, T. (1993), *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore–London.
- Garbrecht, G. (1987), “Water storage (Lake Moeris) in the Fayum Depression, legend or reality?”, *Irrigation and Drainage Systems* 1, 143–157.
- Garland, R. (2001), *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd edn. Bristol.
- Gehrke, H.-J. (1998), “Die Geburt der Erdkunde aus dem Geiste der Geometrie. Überlegungen zur Entstehung und zur Frühgeschichte der wissenschaftlichen Geographie bei den Griechen”, in: W. Kullmann/J. Althoff/M. Asper (eds.), *Gattungen wissenschaftlicher Literatur in der Antike*, Tübingen, 163–192.
- Gehrke, H.-J. (2007), “Die Raumwahrnehmung im archaischen Griechenland”, in: M. Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike*, Mainz, 17–30.
- Gentili, B. (1986), “Il tiranno, l’eroe e la dimensione tragica”, in: Gentili/Pretagostini (eds.), 117–123.
- Gentili, B./Pretagostini, R. (eds.) (1986), *Edipo. Il teatro greco e la cultura europea. Atti del convegno internazionale (Urbino 15–19 novembre 1982)*, Rome.

- Gera, D. (1997), *Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus De Mulieribus*, Mnemosyne Supplement 162, Leiden-New York-Cologne.
- Geus, K./Irwin, E.K./Poiss, T. (2013) (eds.), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien*, Zivilisationen und Geschichte 22, Frankfurt am Main.
- Giangiulio, M. (2001), "Constructing the past: colonial traditions and the writing of history. The case of Cyrene", in: Luraghi (ed.), 116–37.
- Gigante, M. (1956), *Νόμος Βασιλεύς*, Naples (repr. 1993).
- Gillam, R.A. (1995), "Priestesses of Hathor: their function, decline and disappearance", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32, 211–237.
- Giorgini, G. (1993), *La città e il tiranno: il concetto di tirannide nella Grecia del VII-IV secolo a.c.*, Milan.
- Giraudeau, M. (1984), *Les Notions Juridiques et Sociales chez Herodote: Études sur le vocabulaire*, Paris.
- Godley, A.D. (1920), *Herodotus. Books I-II*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA–London.
- Goldhill, S. (2002), *The Invention of Prose*, Greece & Rome New Surveys in the Classics 32, Oxford.
- Gould, J. (1989), *Herodotus*, London–New York.
- Goyon, J.-C. (1992), "Hathor, l'ivraie et l'ivresse...", *Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* 6, 7–16.
- Graham, D.W. (2003), "Philosophy on the Nile: Herodotus and Ionian research", *Apeiron* 36, 291–310.
- Grant, J.R. (1983), "Some thoughts on Herodotus", *Phoenix* 37, 283–298.
- Graves-Brown, C. (2010), *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*, London.
- Gray, V.J. (1996), "Herodotus and images of tyranny: the tyrants of Corinth", *American Journal of Philology* 117, 361–389.
- (2001), "Herodotus' literary and historical method: Arion's story (1.23–24)", *American Journal of Philology* 122, 11–28.
- (2002), "Short stories in Herodotus' *Histories*", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 291–317.
- (2006), "The linguistic philosophies of Prodicus in Xenophon's 'Choice of Heracles'", *Classical Quarterly* 56, 426–435.
- (2007), "Structure and significance (5.55–69)", in: Irwin/Greenwood (eds.), 202–225.
- (2012), "Herodotus on Melampus", in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 167–194.
- Graziosi, B. (2002), *Inventing Homer. The Early Reception of Epic*, Cambridge.
- Grene, D. (1987), *Herodotus: The History* (transl.), Chicago.
- Grensemam, H. (1979), "Das 24. Kapitel von *De aeribus, aquis, locis* und die Einheit der Schrift", *Hermes* 107, 423–441.
- Gribble, D. (1998), "Narrator interventions in Thucydides", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 118, 41–67.
- Griffin, J. (ed.) (1999), *Sophocles Revisited. Essays presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*, Oxford.
- Griffin, J. (2006), "Herodotus and tragedy", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 46–59.
- Griffith, F.L. (1900), *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*, Oxford.
- Griffiths, A.H. (1987), "Democedes of Croton: Greek doctor at the Court of Darius", in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg/A. Kuhrt (eds.): *Achaemenid History*, Bd. 2: *The Greek Sources*, Leiden, 37–51.

- (1999), “Euenius the negligent nightwatchman (Herodotus 9.92–6)”, in: R. Buxton (ed.), *From Myth to Reason? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought*, Oxford, 169–182.
- (2006), “Stories and Storytelling in the *Histories*”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 130–144.
- Griffiths, J.G. (1960), *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources*, Liverpool.
- (1970), *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cardiff.
- Grinsell, L.V. (1947), “The folklore of ancient Egyptian monuments”, *Folk-Lore* 58, 345–360.
- Grintser, N.P. (2002), “Grammar of poetry (Aristotle and beyond)”, in: P. Swiggers/A. Wouters (eds.), *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity, Orbis Supplementa* 19, Leuven–Paris–Sterling, VA, 71–99.
- Grmek, M.D. (1983), *Les maladies à l'aube de la civilisation occidentale*, Paris.
- Grote, D. (1994), “Callicles use of Pindar's Νόμος βασιλεύς: *Gorgias* 484B”, *Classical Journal* 90, 21–31.
- Grundy, G.B. (1901), *The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries: A Study of the Evidence, Literary and Topographical*, London.
- Gutbub, A. (1961), “Un emprunt aux textes des Pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse”, in: *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. I.4: *Orient ancien*, Cairo, 31–72.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1969), *A History of Greek Philosophy. Volume III: The Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, Cambridge.
- Hainsworth, J.B. (1966) “Joining battle in Homer”, *Greece & Rome* 13, 158–166.
- Halbwachs, M. (1925), *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris.
- (1950), *La mémoire collective*, Paris (Engl. transl.: *The Collective Memory*, New York 1980).
- Hall, H.R. (1904), “Nitokris-Rhodopis”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 24, 208–213.
- Hansen, W. (2002), *Ariadne's Thread: A Guide to International Tales found in Classical Literature*, Ithaca, NY.
- Harrison, T. (1998), “Herodotus' conception of foreign languages”, *Histos* 2, 1–45.
- (2002), *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus*, Oxford.
- Hart, H.L.A./Honoré, T. (1985), *Causation in the Law* (2nd edn.; first edn. 1959), Oxford.
- Hartog, F. (2001), *Le miroir d'Hérodote: Essai sur la représentation de l'autre*, Paris.
- Hartwig, A. (1998), “Maneros-Trinkspruch oder Klagelied?”, in: R. Rolle/K. Schmidt (eds.), *Archäologisch Studien in Kontaktzonen der Antiken Welt. Festschrift Hans Georg Niemeyer*. Veröffentlichungen der Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 87, Göttingen, 17–26.
- Haziza, T. (2006), “Quelques remarques sur le thème de la démesure dans le Livre II des *Histoires* d'Hérodote”, *Kentron* 22, 89–113.
- (2009), *Le kaléidoscope hérodotéen: Images, imaginaire et représentations de l'Égypte à travers le Livre II d'Hérodote*, Paris.
- (2012), “De l'Égypte d'Hérodote à celle de Diodore: Étude comparée des règnes des trois bâtisseurs des pyramides du plateau de Gîza”, *Kentron* 28, 17–52.
- Heinimann, F. (1945), *Nomos und Physis: Herkunft und Bedeutung einer Antithese im griechischen Denken des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Basel (repr. Basel 1965).
- Helck, W. (1955), “Eine Stele des Vizekönigs Wsr-Št.t”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14, 22–31.
- (1959), “Pyramiden”, in: W. Kroll (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XXIII.2, 2167–2282.
- (1961), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22*, Berlin.

- (1984), "Schentait", in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 5, Wiesbaden, 580f.
- Hellmann, O. (2000), *Die Schlachtszenen der Ilias*, Hermes Einzelschriften 83, Wiesbaden.
- Henrichs, A.H. (1976), "The atheism of Prodicus", *Cronache Ercolanesi* 6, 15–21.
- Henry, D. (2015), "Holding for the most part: the demonstrability of moral facts", in: D. Henry/K.M. Nielsen (eds.), *Bridging the Gap between Aristotle's science and Ethics*, Cambridge, 169–189.
- Herbin, F.R. (1994), *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, Leuven.
- Herington, J. (1991), "The poem of Herodotus", *Arion* 1.3, 5–16.
- Herrmann, J. (1967), "Nomos bei Herodot und Thukydides", in: H. Conrad/H. Jahrreiss et al. (eds.), *Gedächtnisschrift Hans Peters*, Berlin–New York, 116–124.
- Hirst, G.M. (1938), "Herodotus on tyranny versus Athens and democracy (a study of book III of Herodotus' *History*)", in: G.M. Hirst, *Collected Classical Papers*, Oxford, 97–110.
- Hoffmann, F. (2000), *Ägypten: Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen*, Berlin.
- Hohti, P. (1976), *The Interrelation of Speech and Action in the Histories of Herodotus*, Helsinki–Helsingfors.
- Hollmann, A.J. (1998), *The Master of Signs and Signification in the Histories of Herodotus*, Diss. Cambridge, MA.
- (2011), *The Master of Signs: Signs and the Interpretation of Signs in Herodotus' Histories*, Washington, DC–Cambridge, MA–London.
- Holm, T.L. (2008), "The fiery furnace in the Book of Daniel and the ancient near East", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128, 85–104.
- Horden, P. (ed.) (1985), *Freud and the Humanities*, London.
- Hornblower, G.D. (1947), "The ancient Egyptian word Maneros", *Man* 47, 139.
- Hornblower, S. (1987), *Thucydides*, London–Baltimore.
- (1991), *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1: Books I–III, Oxford.
- (2001), "Epic and epiphanies. Herodotus and the 'New Simonides'", in: Boedeker/Sider (eds.), 135–47.
- (2007), "Warfare in ancient literature: the paradox of war", in: P. Sabin/H. van Wees/M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, 2 vols., Cambridge, I.22–53.
- (2008), *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol III: Books 5.28–8.109, Oxford.
- Hornblower, S./Pelling, C. (2017), *Herodotus: Histories Book VI*, Cambridge.
- Hornung, E. (1982), *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh. Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*, Freiburg–Göttingen.
- (1995), *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, Düsseldorf.
- How, W.W./Wells, J. (1928), *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Hubbard, T.K. (1992), "Remaking myth and rewriting history: cult tradition in Pindar's ninth Nemean", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94, 77–111.
- (2004), "The dissemination of epinician lyric: pan-Hellenism, reperformance, written texts", in: C.J. Mackie (ed.), *Oral Performance and its Context*, Leiden–Boston, 71–93.
- (2011), "The dissemination of Pindar's non-epinician choral lyric", in: L. Athanassaki/E.L. Bowie (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Choral Song. Performance, Politics and Dissemination*, Berlin–Boston, 333–349.
- Huber, L. (1965), "Herodots Homerverständnis", in: H. Flashar/K. Gaiser (eds.) *Synusia: Festgabe für Wolfgang Schadewaldt zum 15. März 1965*, Pfullingen, 29–52.

- Hume, D. (1762), *History of England* (first edn. 1754–61), London.
- Humphreys, S.C. (1987), “Law, custom, and culture in Herodotus”, *Arethusa* 20, *Herodotus and the Invention of History*, 211–220.
- Hunter, R.L. (2014), *Hesiodic Voices: Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod’s Works and Days*, Cambridge–New York.
- Immerwahr, H. (1956–1957), “The Samian stories of Herodotus”, *Classical Journal* 52, 312–322.
- (1960), “*Ergon*: history as a monument in Herodotus and Thucydides”, *American Journal of Philology* 81, 261–290.
- (1966), *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland.
- Irby, G.L. (2012), “Mapping the world: Greek initiatives from Homer to Eratosthenes”, in: R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Ancient perspectives: Maps and their place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, Chicago, 81–107.
- Irwin, E.K. (2013), “The *hybris* of Theseus’ and the date of the *Histories*”, in: Ruffing/Dunsch(eds.), 7–84.
- Irwin, E.K./Greenwood, E. (eds.) (2007), *Reading Herodotus. A Study of the logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus’ Histories*, Cambridge.
- Jacob, C. (1991), *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris.
- Jacobs, B./Trampedach, K. (2013), “Das Konzept der achämenidischen Monarchie nach den Primärquellen und nach den Historien des Herodot”, in: N. Zenzen/T. Hölscher/K. Trampedach (eds.), *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von ‘Ost’ und ‘West’ in der griechischen Antike*, *Oikumene* 10, Heidelberg, 60–87.
- Jacoby, F. (1909), “Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente”, *Klio* 9, 80–123, (repr. in F. Jacoby (1956), *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Leiden, 16–64.).
- (1913), “Herodotos”, in: W. Kroll (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplement-Band II, 205–520.
- Jameson, M.H. (1986), “Labda, lambda, Labdakos”, in: Del Chiaro (ed.) (1986), 3–11 [repr. in Jameson(2014), 186–197].
- (2014), *Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece. Essays on Religion and Society*, Cambridge.
- Janni, P. (1984), *La mappa e il periplo. Cartografia antica e spazio odologico*, Rome.
- Johnson, D.M. (2001), “Herodotus’ storytelling speeches: Socles (5.92) and Leotychides (6.86)”, *Classical Journal* 97, 1–26.
- Jordan, H. (1905), *Der Erzählungsstil in den Kampfszenen der Ilias*, Breslau.
- Jouanna, J. (1983), *Hippocrate* (X, 2), *Maladies II*. Texte établi et traduit par J.J., Paris.
- (1988a), *Hippocrate* (V,1), *Des Vents-De l’Art*. Texte établi et traduit par J.J., Paris.
- (1988b), “La maladie sauvage dans la Collection hippocratique”, *Métis* 3, 343–360.
- (1999), *Hippocrates* (transl. of *Hippocrate*, Paris, 1992), Baltimore–London.
- (2006), “Famine et peste dans l’Antiquité grecque: un jeu de mots sur limos / loimos”, *Cahiers de la Villa ‘Kérylos’* 17, 197–219.
- (2008), “Réflexions sur le régime des peuples dans la Grèce classique (Hérodote I, 133; Hippocrate, *Ancienne Médecine*, c. 5; Thucydide I, 6) et sur le sens des mots de la famille de ΔΙΑΙΤΑ”, *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 121, 17–42.
- (2009), *Hippocrate. Pour une archéologie de l’École de Cnide*, Paris (2nd edn. with additions; first edn. 1974).
- (2012), *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected Papers* (Engl. transl. N. Allies), Leiden–Boston.
- (2013), *Hippocrate* (III,1), *Pronostic*. Texte établi et traduit par J.J., Paris.

- Junker, H. (1906), "Poesie aus der Spätzeit", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 43, 101–127.
- Junker, H. (1911), *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, Berlin.
- Kaletsch, H. (2006), "Pactolus", in: H. Cancik/H. Schneider (eds.) *Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity volumes* [online access on 24 February 2017 <http://dx.doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e904030>].
- Kammerzell, F. (1987), "Die Nacht zum Tage Machen — pVandier Rto. 1,2–7 und Herodot II 133", *Göttinger Miszellen* 96, 45–52.
- Kaplan, P. (2006), "Dedications to Greek sanctuaries by foreign kings in the eighth through sixth Centuries BCE", *Historia* 55, 129–152.
- Karanika, A. (2014), *Voices at Work: Women, Performance, and Labor in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore.
- Keaveney, A./Bartley, A. (2014), "The case of Epizeiros (Herodotus 6.117) revisited", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 66, 9–26.
- Kimmel-Clauzet, F. (2013), "La composition du livre II de l'*Enquête*", in: Coulon/Giovannelli-Jouanna/Kimmel-Clauzet (eds.), 17–44.
- King, H. (1989), "The daughter of Leonides: reading the Hippocratic corpus", in: A. Cameron (ed.), *History as Text: The Writing of ancient history*, London, 11–32.
- Kinzl, K.H. (1978), "ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ", *Gymnasium* 85, 117–27.
- Kirchberg, J. (1965), *Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots*, Göttingen.
- Klees, H. (1965), *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 43, Stuttgart.
- Koenen, L. (1983), "Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof", in: E. van 't Dack/P. van Dessel/W. van Gucht (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 24–26 May 1982*, Leuven, 143–190.
- Konstan, D. (1987), "Persuasion, Greeks and empire", *Arethusa* 20, 59–73.
- Konstantakos, I.M. (2007), "The warlike and the wary: the council of Xerxes in Herodotus VII 8–11 and some near eastern tales", *Eikasmos* 18, 219–244.
- (2013a), *Ἀκίχαρος*, vol. 3: *Ἡ Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀκίχαρ καὶ ἡ Μυθιστορία τοῦ Αἰσώπου*, Athens.
- (2013b), "Once upon a time: the archaeology of folktales and the popular narrative traditions of the ancient world", paper presented at the Seminars on Greek Literature and Culture, European Cultural Centre of Delphi, July 2013 (online at <http://uoa.academia.edu/I.Konstantakos/Talks>).
- (forthcoming), "Cambyses and the sacred bull (Hdt. 3.27–29 and 3.64): history and legend", in: V. Liotsakis/S. Farrington (eds.), *Science, Fiction, History: The Literary in Classical Historiography*, Berlin–Boston.
- Kosmetatou, E. (2013), "Herodotus and temple inventories", in: P. Liddel/P. Low (eds.), *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford, 65–77.
- Kowalski, J.-M. (2012), *Navigation et géographie dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine. La terre vue de la mer*, Paris.
- Kremmydas, C. (2012), *Commentary on Demosthenes Against Leptines*, Oxford.
- Krischer, T. (1965), "Herodots Prooimion", *Hermes* 93, 159–167.
- Kudlien, F. (1967), *Der Beginn des medizinischen Denkens bei der Griechen*, Zürich–Stuttgart.
- Kuhr, A. (2007), *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, London–New York.
- Kurke, L. (1995), "Herodotus and the language of metals", *Helios* 22, 36–64.

- (1999), *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*, Princeton.
- Kurtz, D.C. (1975), “The man-eating horses of Diomedes in poetry and painting”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 95, 171–172.
- Kurtz, D.C./Boardman, J. (1971), *Greek Burial Customs*, London–Ithaca, NY.
- Kyriakou, P. (2002), “The violence of *nomos* in Pindar fr. 169a”, *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 48, 195–206.
- Lalouette, C. (1987), *Textes sacrés et textes profanes de l'ancienne Égypte*, vol. 2: *Mythes, contes et poésie*, Paris.
- Lamberterie, C. de (2005), “Peste et famine à la fois: un nouvel exemple de l' ‘effet Saussure’ en grec ancien”, in: F. Poli (ed.), *De Cyrène à Catherine: trois mille ans de Libyennes, Etudes grecques et latines offertes à Catherine Dobias-Lalou*, Nancy–Paris, 137–148.
- Lamberton, R. (1989), *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*, Princeton.
- Langholf, V. (1990), *Medical Theories in Hippocrates: Early Texts and the ‘Epidemics’*, Berlin–New York.
- Lanza, D. (1977), *Il tiranno e il suo pubblico*, Turin.
- Laskaris, J. (2002), *The Art is Long: On Sacred Disease and the Scientific Tradition*, Leiden–Boston.
- Lasserre, F. (1976), “Hérodote et Protagoras: le débat sur les constitutions”, *Museum Helveticum* 33, 65–84.
- Latacz, J. (1977), *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios*, Zetemata 66, Munich.
- Lateiner, D. (1984), “Herodotean historiographical patterning: the constitutional debate”, *Latomus* 28, 157–162, repr. in: Munson (2013) (ed.), vol. 1, 194–213.
- (1986), “The empirical element in the methods of the early Greek medical writers and Herodotus: a shared epistemological response”, *Antichthon* 20, 1–20.
- (1989), *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto.
- Lazenby, J.F. (1993), *The Defence of Greece, 490–479 B.C.*, Warminster.
- Leclant, J. (1969), “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1967–1968”, *Orientalia* 38, 240–307.
- Lefebvre, G. (1949), *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, Paris.
- Legrand, P.-E. (1932), *Hérodote: Histoires. Livre I Clio*, Paris.
- (1948), *Hérodote: Histoires. Livre II Euterpe*, Paris.
- London, J.E. (2017), “Battle description in the ancient historians, part I: structure, array, and fighting”, *Greece & Rome* 64, 39–64.
- Lenfant, D. (1996), “Ctésias et Hérodote, ou les réécritures de l'histoire dans la Perse achéménide”, *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 109, 348–80.
- Lesko, B.S. (1999), *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, Norman, OK.
- Lévy, I. (1936), “Autour d'un roman mythologique égyptien”, in: *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 4, 817–845.
- Lichtheim, M. (1973–1980), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vols 1–3, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.
- Lidov, J. (2002), “Sappho, Herodotus, and the *hetaira*”, *Classical Philology* 97, 203–237.
- Lightfoot, J.L. (1999), *Parthenius of Nicaea. The Poetical Fragments and the Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα*. Oxford.

- Liverani, M. (2000), "The Libyan caravan road in Herodotus IV, 181–185", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43-44, 496–520.
- Lloyd, A.B. (2007), Commentary on Herodotus Book II, in: Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella (eds.), 221–378.
- (1970), "The Egyptian labyrinth", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56, 81–100.
- (1975–1988), *Herodotus: Book II*, 3 vols. (Introduction 1975; Commentary 1–98 1976; Commentary 99–182 1988), Leiden–New York–Copenhagen–Cologne.
- (1988), "Herodotus' account of Pharaonic History", *Historia* 37, 22–53.
- (1990), "Herodotus on Egyptians and Libyans" in: G. Nenci (ed.), *Hérodote et les peuples non Grecs*, Entretiens Hardt 35, Geneva, 215–253.
- (1995), "Herodotus on Egyptian buildings: a test case", in: A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World*, London, 273–301.
- (2007), "Darius I in Egypt. Suez and Hibis", in: C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Persian Responses. Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, Swansea, 99–115.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. (1979), *Magic, reason, and experience*, Cambridge.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1972), "Pindar Fr. 169", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76, 45–56.
- (1985), "Psychoanalysis and the study of the ancient world", in: Horden (ed.), 152–80 [repr. in Lloyd-Jones (1991), 172–195].
- (1991), *Greek in a Cold Climate*, London.
- Lobel, E. (ed.) (1961), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXVI*, London.
- Long, T. (1987), *Repetition and Variation in the Short Stories of Herodotus*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Lonie, I.M. (1981), *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation", "On the Nature of the Child", "Diseases IV": A Commentary*, Berlin.
- Loomis, C. (1993), "The ring of Polycrates in the legends of the saints", *Journal of American Folklore*, 106, 44–47.
- Loprieno, A. (1996), "Linguistic variety and Egyptian literature", in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden–New York–Cologne, 515–529.
- Loret, V. (1883), "Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak", in: *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 4, 21–33.
- Lüddeckens, E. (1954), "Herodot und Ägypten", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 104, 330–346.
- Luraghi, N. (ed.) (2001a), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford.
- (2001b), "Local knowledge in Herodotus' *Histories*", in: N. Luraghi (ed.), 138–160.
- (2006), "Meta-*historiē*: method and genre in the *Histories*", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 76–91.
- (2013), "The stories before the *Histories*: folktale and traditional narrative in Herodotus", in: Munson (ed.), vol. 1.87–112.
- Lyons, D. (2014), "Arion the Methymnian and Dionysos Methymnaios: myth and cult in Herodotus' *Histories*", in: A. Avramidou/D. Dimitriou (eds.), *Approaching the Ancient Artcraft: Representation, Narrative, and Function: A Festschrift in Honor of H. Alan Shapiro*, Berlin–Boston, 425–434.
- Mackie, J.L. (1974), *The Cement of the Universe: A Study of Causation*, Oxford.
- Malkin, I. (1994), *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge.
- Manuelian, P. (2015.08.19), "Blond Hair in the Tomb of Meresankh?", *Classical Inquiries* <https://classical-inquiries.chs.harvard.edu/blond-hair-in-the-tomb-of-meresankh/>.
- Marincola, J. (2006), "Herodotus and the poetry of the past", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 13–28.

- (2007a), “Odysseus and the historians”, *Syllecta Classica* 18, 1–79.
- (2007b), “The Persian Wars in fourth-century historiography and oratory”, in: Bridges/Hall/Rhodes (eds.), 105–126.
- Maspero, G. (2002), *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, edited with an introduction by H. El-Shamy, Santa Barbara–Denver–Oxford.
- Mattes, J. (1970), *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des fünften Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg.
- Mayhew, R. (2011), *Prodicus the Sophist. Texts. Translations, and Commentary*, Oxford.
- McCabe, M.M. (2008), “Protean Socrates: mythical figures in the *Euthydemus*”, in: P. Remes/ J. Sihvola (eds.), *Ancient Philosophy of the Self*, 109–123.
- McGlew, J.F. (1993), *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca, NY.
- McNeal, R. (1985), “How did Pelasgians become Hellenes? Herodotus 1.56–58”, *Illinois Classical Studies* 10, 11–21.
- McPherran, M. (2003), “The aporetic interlude and fifth Elenchos of Plato’s *Euthyphro*”, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 25, 1–37.
- Meeks, D. (1976), “Pureté et purification en Égypte”, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément IX*, Paris, 430–452.
- Melis, V. (2015), “La condizione di Oreste tra sacro e profano: un istituto giuridico nascosto (EUR. Or. 512–517, *IG* I³ 104, ll. 26–29)”, in: Busetto/Loukas (eds.), 171–82, 190–1.
- Meltzer, E.S. (1989), “Herodotus on Akhenaten?”, *Discussions in Egyptology* 15, 51–55.
- Meyer, C. (1986), “Wein”, in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. VI, Wiesbaden, 1169–1182.
- Mikalson, J. (2003), *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*, Chapel Hill.
- Minns, E.H. (1913), *Scythians and Greeks: A survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus*, Cambridge.
- Moles, J.L. (1996), “Herodotus warns the Athenians”, *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 9, 259–284.
- (1999), “Ἀνάθημα καὶ Κτήμα: the inscriptional inheritance of ancient historiography”, *Histos* 20, 27–69.
- (2007), “‘Saving’ Greece from the ‘ignominy’ of tyranny? The ‘famous’ and ‘wonderful’ speech of Socles (5.92)”, in: Irwin/Greenwood (eds.), 245–68.
- (2012), “Herodotus and Athens”, in: Bakker/de Jong /van Wees (eds.), 33–52.
- Mora, F. (1985), *Religione e religioni nelle Storie di Erodoto*, Milano.
- Morenz, S. (1971), “Traditionen um Cheops. Beiträge zur überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Methode in der Ägyptologie I”, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 97, 111–118.
- Morgan, L. (1999), *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil’s Georgics*, Cambridge.
- Morley, N. (2011), “Monumentality and the meaning of the past in ancient and modern historiography”, in: A. Lianeri (ed.), *The Western Time in Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with Greek and Roman Pasts*, Cambridge, 210–226.
- Morris, E.F. (2007), “Sacred and obscene laughter in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, in Egyptian inversions of everyday life, and in the context of cultic competition”, in: T. Schneider/K. Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories. A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of his Retirement*, Münster, 197–224.
- Mueller, M. (2009), *The Iliad*, 2nd edn., London.
- (2011), “Battle-Scenes”, in: M. Finkelberg (ed.), *The Homer Encyclopedia*, 3 vols., Malden, MA–Oxford, 1.125–128.

- Müller, C.W. (1989), "Der Schelm als König und Weiser: Amasis von Ägypten in der Darstellung Herodots", in: *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz 1949–1989*, Mainz–Stuttgart, 209–236.
- Munson, R.V. (1988), "Artemisia in Herodotus", *Classical Antiquity* 7, 91–106.
- (1991), "The madness of Cambyses (Herodotus 3.16–38)", *Arethusa* 24, 43–65.
- (2001), *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Works of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor.
- (2005), *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians*, Washington, DC.
- (ed.) (2013), *Herodotus: Volume 1: Herodotus and the Narrative of the Past*, Volume 2: *Herodotus and the World*, Oxford.
- Münster, M. (1968), *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin.
- Murray, O. (1993), *Early Greece*, 2nd edn., London.
- Muscarella, O.W. (1997), "The Iron Age background to the formation of the Phrygian state", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 299/300, 91–101.
- (1989), "King Midas of Phrygia and the Greeks", in: K. Emre/B. Hrouda/M. Mellink/N. Özgüç (eds.), *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, Ankara, 333–344.
- Myres, J.L. (1953), *Herodotus: Father of History*, Oxford.
- Nagy, G. (1990), *Pindar's Homer. The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*, Baltimore.
<https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5283>
- (2007), "Did Sappho and Alcaeus Ever Meet?" in: A. Bierl/R. Lämmle/K. Wesselmann (eds.), *Literatur und Religion: Wege zu einer mythisch–rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen* I. 211–269. MythosEikonPoiesis 1.1, Berlin / New York. 2nd edn. online 2009
http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:Nagy.Did_Sappho_and_Alcaeus_Ever_Meet.2007
- (2010), *Homer the Preclassic*. Berkeley–Los Angeles. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Nagy.Homer_the_Preclassic.2009
- (2013), "Virgil's verse *invitus, regina* ... and its poetic antecedents", in: P. Fodor/G. Mayer/M. Monostori/K. Szovák/L. Takács (eds.), *More modoque: Die Wurzeln der europäischen Kultur und deren Rezeption im Orient und Okzident. Festschrift für Miklós Maróth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 155–165. Budapest. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:Nagy.Virgils_Verse_Invitus_Regina.2013
- (2015a), "A poetics of sisterly affect in the Brothers Song and in other songs of Sappho" (an online version of the article published Bierl/Lardinois 2016) http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:NagyG.A_Poetics_of_Sisterly_Affect.2015
- (2015b), *Masterpieces of Metonymy: From Ancient Greek Times to Now*, Washington DC–Cambridge, Mass. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Nagy.Masterpieces_of_Metonymy.2015
- Nagy, I. (1973), "Remarques sur le souci d'archaïsme en Égypte à l'époque Saïte", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21, 53–64.
- Naiden, F.S. (1999), "The prospective imperfect in Herodotus", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 99, 135–149.
- Nenci, G. (1998), *Erodoto: Le Storie*, Libro VI: *La Battaglia di Maratone*, Milan.
- Nestle, W. (1908), *Herodots Verhältnis zur Philosophie und Sophistik*, Stuttgart.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1967), *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. 1: *Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft*, Munich.

- (1972), *Greek Folk Religion*, Philadelphia.
- Obbink, D. (2014), “Two new poems by Sappho”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 189, 31–50.
- Obsomer, C. (1998), “Hérodote et les prêtres de Memphis”, in: W. Clarysse/A. Schoors/H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, vol. 2, Leuven, 1423–1442.
- Osborne, R.G. (2004), “Hoards, votives, offerings: the archaeology of the dedicated object”, *World Archaeology* 36.1, 1–10.
- Ostwald, M. (1965), “Pindar, NOMOS, and Heracles: (Pindar, frg. 169 [Snell 2] + P.Oxy. no. 2450, frg. I)”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 69, 109–138.
- (1969), *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, Oxford.
- Overwien, O. (2014), *Hippocratis De humoribus (CMG I.3,1)*, Berlin.
- Papazarkadas, N. (2014), “Two new epigrams from Thebes”, in: N. Papazarkadas (ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Prospects*, Leiden, 223–251.
- Parke, H.W. (1984), “Croesus and Delphi”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25, 209–232.
- Parker, R.C.T. (1983), *Miasma. Pollution and purification in early Greek religion*, Oxford.
- (1996), *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford.
- Parker, V. (2007), “Herodotus’ use of Aeschylus’ *Persae* as a source for the battle of Salamis”, *Symbolae Osloenses* 82, 2–29.
- Parkinson, R.B. (1997), *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940–1640 BC*, Oxford.
- Parry, D. (2005), *Engineering in the Ancient World*, Stroud.
- Patillon, M. (ed.) (2008), *Corpus Rhetoricum. Tome I: Préambule à la Rhétorique*, Anonyme. *Progymnasmata, Aphthonios*. En Annexe: *Progymnasmata, Pseudo-Hermogène*, Paris.
- (ed.) (2012), *Corpus Rhetoricum. Tome IV: Prolégomènes au De Ideis. Hermogène, Les catégories stylistiques du discours (De Ideis). Synopse des exposés sur les Ideai*, Paris.
- Pavese, C.O. (1968), “The new Heracles poem of Pindar”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72, 47–88.
- (1993), “On Pindar, fr. 169”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95, 143–157.
- Payne, M. (2006), “On being vatic: Pindar, pragmatism, and historicism”, *American Journal of Philology* 127, 159–184.
- Pedley, J.G. (1972), *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis*, Cambridge, MA.
- Pelling, C. (1997), “Aeschylus’ *Persae* and history”, in: C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, Oxford, 1–19.
- (2000), *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian*, London.
- (2002), “Speech and action: Herodotus’ debate on the constitutions”, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 48, 123–158.
- (2006a), “Educating Croesus: talking and learning in Herodotus’ Lydian logos”, *Classical Antiquity* 24, 1–38.
- (2006b), “Homer and Herodotus”, in: M.J. Clarke/B.G.F. Currie/R.O.A.M. Lyne (eds.), *Epic Interactions: Perspectives on Homer, Virgil and the Epic Tradition presented to Jasper Griffin by Former Pupils*, Oxford, 75–104.
- (2007), “Aristagoras (5.49–55, 97)”, in: Irwin/Greenwood (eds.), 179–201.
- (2013a), “Historical explanation and what didn’t happen: the virtues of virtual history”, in: A. Powell (ed.), *Hindsight in Greek and Roman History*, Swansea, 1–24.
- (2013b), “Intertextuality, plausibility, and interpretation”, *Histos* 7, 1–20.

- (forthcoming a), “Waiting for Herodotus: the mindsets of 425”, in: S. Chen/J. Baines/T. Rood/H. van der Blom (eds.), *Historical Consciousness and the Use of the Past in the Ancient World*.
- (forthcoming b), *Herodotus and the Question Why*, Austin, TX.
- Perry, B.E. (1937), “On the early Greek ability for viewing things separately”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 68, 403–27.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1952) (ed.), *Callimachus*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Phillips, T. (2016), *Pindar's Library: Performance Poetry and Material Texts*, Oxford.
- Picard, C. (1933), “Le cénotaphe de Midéa et les ‘colosses’ de Ménélas. Ad Æschyl., Agamemn., v. 414 sqq.”, *Revue de Philologie* 59, 341–354.
- Pietrobelli, A. (2015), “Les mystères de la phtiriase”, in: F. Collard/E. Samama (eds.), *Poux, puces, punaises. La vermine de l'homme*, Paris, 283–298.
- Pike, D.L. (1984), “Pindar's treatment of the Heracles' myths”, *Acta* 27, 15–22.
- Pleket, H.W. (1972), “Isonomia and Cleisthenes: a note”, *Talanta* 4, 63–81.
- Podlecki, A.J. (1966), “Creon and Herodotus”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 97, 359–71.
- Pohlenz, M. (1948), “NOMOS”, *Philologus* 97, 135–142.
- (1912), *De arte qua fabellae Herodoteae narratae sint*, Diss. Göttingen.
- Poo, M.-C. (1995), *Wine and Wine-Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London–New York.
- Porter, B./Moss, R.L.B. (1974), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 3: *Memphis*. Part I, Oxford.
- Posener, G. (1956), *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe Dynastie*, Paris.
- (1985), *Le Papyrus Vandier*, Cairo.
- Postel, L. (2013), “Hérodote et les annales royales égyptiennes”, in: L. Coulon/P. Giovannelli-Jouanna/F. Kimmel-Clauzet (eds.), 89–118.
- Poudrier, A.F. (2002), *Memory and Identity in Herodotus: The Historiographical and Cultural Meanings of Sanctuaries and Dedications in the Histories*, Diss. State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Powell, J.E. (1937), “Puns in Herodotus”, *Classical Review* 51, 103–105.
- (1938), *A Lexicon to Herodotus*, Cambridge.
- Priestley, J. (2014), *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture: Literary Studies in the Reception of the Histories*, Oxford.
- Pritchard, J.B. (ed.) (1969), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Third Edition with Supplement*, Princeton.
- Proietti, G. (2015), “War and memory: the battle of Psyttaieia before Herodotus' Histories”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 58, 43–54.
- Prontera, F. (2001), “Hekataios und die Erdkarte des Herodot”, in: D. Papenfuß/V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts*. Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung, veranstaltet vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau, Mainz, 127–136 [repr. as “Ecateo e la carta di Erodoto” in: Prontera 2011a, 63–71].
- (2007–8/2011), “Centro e periferia nei mappamondi greci (2007/8)”, in: Prontera 2011a, 167–182.
- (2011a), *Geografia e storia nella Grecia antica*, Florence.
- (2011b), “L'Asia nella geografia di Erodoto: uno spazio in costruzione”, in: R. Rollinger/B. Truschneegg/R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich. Akten des 3. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema 'Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und*

- altorientalischer Überlieferungen*’, Innsbruck, 24.–28. November 2008, *Classica et Orientalia* 3, Wiesbaden, 179–195.
- Provençal, V. (2015), *Sophist kings: Persians as other in Herodotus*, London–New York.
- Purves, A.C. (2010), *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative*, Cambridge.
- Quack, J.F. (2005), *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3, *Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, Münster.
- (2013), “Quelques apports récents des études démotiques à la compréhension du livre II d’Hérodote”, in: Coulon/Giovannelli-Jouanna/Kimmel-Clauzet (eds.), 63–88.
- Quaegebeur, J. (1990), “Les rois Saïtes amateurs de vin”, *AncSoc* 21, 241–271.
- Quirke, S.G. (1996), “Narrative literature”, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 263–276.
- Raaflaub, K. (1985), *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit. Zur historischen Semantik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte eines politischen Grundbegriffs der Griechen*, Munich.
- (2002), “Philosophy, science, politics: Herodotus and the intellectual trends of his time”, in: Bakker/de Jong/von Wees (eds.), 149–186.
- Ramage, A. (1978), “Gold refining in the time of the Lydian kings at Sardis”, in: E. Akurgal (ed.), *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara–Izmir 23–30.IX.1973*, Ankara, 729–735.
- (2000), “Golden Sardis”, in: A. Ramage/P. Craddock (eds.), *King Croesus’ Gold. Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*. Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 11, Cambridge, Mass., 14–20.
- Redfield, J. (1985), “Herodotus the tourist”, *Classical Philology* 80, 97–118.
- (1987), “Commentary on Humphreys and Raaflaub”, *Arethusa* 20, *Herodotus and the Invention of History*, 249–253.
- Redford, D.B. (1986), *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, Mississauga.
- Regenbogen, O. (1930), “Herodot und sein Werk: Ein Versuch”, *Die Antike* 6, 202–248.
- Reisner, G.A. (1927), “The tomb of Meresankh, a great-granddaughter of Queen Heteep-Heres I and Sneferuw”, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 25, 64–79.
- Renaut, L. (2004), “Les tatouages d’Ötzi et la petite chirurgie traditionnelle”, *L’anthropologie* 108, 1, 69–105.
- Rennell, J. (1830), *The Geographical System of Herodotus. Examined and Explained by a Comparison with Those of Other Ancient Authors, and with Modern Geography*, Vols. 1–2, 2nd edn. revised, London (1st edn. 1800).
- Reynolds, J.J. (2009), “Proving power: signs and sign-interference in Thucydides’ Archaeology”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 139, 325–368.
- Richardson, N.J. (2006 [1975]), “Homeric professors in the age of the Sophists”, in: A. Laird (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Ancient Literary Criticism*, Oxford, 62–86 [Originally published in: *Proceedings of Cambridge Philological Society* 21, 65–81].
- Robert, C. (1915), *Oidipus. Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im Griechischen Altertum* (2 vols.), Berlin.
- Robert, F. (1990), “Des maladies qui se changent en d’autres maladies”, in: P. Potter/G. Maloney/J. Desautels (eds.), *La maladie et les maladies dans la Collection hippocratique. Actes du VIe Colloque international hippocratique*, Québec, 229–235.
- Robert, L. (1950), “Le Carien Mys et l’oracle du Ptöon (Hérodote, VIII, 135)”, *Hellenica* 8, 23–38.
- Roberts, A. (1995), *Hathor Rising. The Serpent Power of Ancient Egypt*, Rottingdean.

- Robinson, E.W. (2011), *Democracy beyond Athens: Popular Government in the Greek Classical Age*, Cambridge.
- Roller, L.E. (1983), "The legend of Midas", *Classical Antiquity* 2, 299–313.
- Rollinger, R. (2013), "Dareios und Xerxes an den Rändern der Welt und die Inszenierung von Weltherrschaft – Altorientalisches bei Herodot", in: Ruffing/Dunsch(eds.), 95–116.
- (2014), "Thinking and writing about history in Teispid and Achaemenid Persia", in: K.A. Raaflaub (ed.), *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*, Chichester, 187–212.
- Rollinger, R./Ruffing, K. (2013), "World view and perception of space", in: N. Zenzen/T. Hölscher/K. Trampedach (eds.), *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von 'Ost' und 'West' in der griechischen Antike*, Oikumene 10, Heidelberg, 93–161.
- Romm, J. (1989), "Herodotus and mythic geography: the case of the Hyperboreans", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119, 97–113.
- (1992), *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration and Fiction*, Princeton, NJ.
- (1998), *Herodotus*, New Haven–London.
- (2006), "Herodotus and the natural world", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 178–191.
- (2007), "Herodotean geography", in: R.B. Strassler (ed.), *The Landmark Herodotus*, New York, 744–747.
- Rood, T. (2006), "Herodotus and Foreign Lands", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 290–305.
- Rose, V. (1886) (ed.), *Aristoteles: Fragmenta*, Leipzig.
- Rosén, H.B. (1987), *Herodoti Historiae*, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- Rotstein, A. (2010), *The Idea of Iambos*, Oxford.
- Rowe, C.J. (1983), "'Archaic thought' in Hesiod", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103, 124–35.
- Ruffing, K./Dunsch, B. (eds.) (2013), *Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots*, *Classica et Orientalia* 6, Wiesbaden.
- Ruffing, K. (2009), "Die 'Satrapienliste' des Dareios. Herodoteisches Konstrukt oder Realität?", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 41, 323–340.
- (2011), "Herodot und die Wirtschaft des Achaimeniden-Reichs", in: R. Rollinger/B. Trusch-negg/R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich / Herodotus and the Persian Empire*, *Classica et Orientalia* 3, Wiesbaden, 75–102.
- Russell, D.A. (1964), *Longinus: On the Sublime*, Oxford.
- Rusten, J. (2013), "ΔΗΛΟΣ ΕΚΙΝΗΘΗ: an 'imaginary' earthquake on Delos in Herodotus and Thucydides", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 133, 135–45.
- Rutherford, I.C. (2001), "The New Simonides: towards a commentary", in: Boedeker/Sider (eds.), 33–54.
- (2001), *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, Oxford–New York.
- (2005), "Down-stream to the Cat-Goddess: Herodotus on Egyptian pilgrimage", in: J. Elsner/I. Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, Oxford, 131–149.
- Rutherford, R.B. (2012), "Structure and meaning in epic and historiography", in: Foster/Lateiner (eds.), 13–38.
- Ryholt, K. (1999), *The Story of Petese Son of Petetum and Seventy Other Good and Bad Stories (P. Petese)*, The Carlsberg Papyri 4, Copenhagen.
- (2006), *The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*, The Carlsberg Papyri 6, Copenhagen.

- Saïd, S. (2002), "Herodotus and tragedy", in: Bakker/de Jong/van Wees (eds.), 117–147.
- (2012), "Herodotus and the 'myth' of the Trojan War", in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 87–105.
- Salmon, J.B. (1984), *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC*, Oxford.
- Samama, E. (2015), "Le poux, la puce, la punaise et l'Autre: non-dits et sous-entendus sur la vermine dans les textes grecs", in: F. Collard/E. Samama (eds.), *Poux, puces, punaises. La vermine de l'homme*, Paris, 283–298.
- Sansone, D. (2004), "Heracles at the Y", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 124, 125–142.
- Sauneron, S. (1962), *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Cairo.
- Schachter, A. (1981), *The Cults of Boiotia*, vol. 1. Acheloos-Hera. *BICS Suppl.* 38, London.
- (1989), "Boiotia in the sixth century B.C.", in: H. Beister/J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika. Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siegfried Lauffer*, Munich, 72–86.
- Schepens, G. (1980), *L'Autopsie dans la méthode des historiens grecs du V^e siècle avant J.C.*, Brussels.
- Schiefesky, M.J. (2005), *Hippocrates: On Ancient Medicine*, Leiden–Boston.
- Schlichting, R. (1982), "Neith", in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, 392–394.
- Schott, S. (1950), *Altägyptische Liebeslieder mit Märchen und Liebesgeschichten*, Zürich.
- Schröder, O. (1917), "Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς", *Philologus* 74, 195–204.
- Schuhl, P.-M. (1936), "Le 'Cheval de Troie'", *Revue Archéologique* 6ème sér. 7, 183–188.
- Schwartz, E. (1929), *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, Hildesheim.
- Scodel, R. (2001), "Poetic authority and oral tradition in Hesiod and Pindar", in: J. Watson (ed.), *Speaking Volumes: Orality and Literacy in the Greek and Roman World*, Leiden, 109–138.
- Scullion, S. (2006), "Herodotus and Greek religion", in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 192–208.
- Sedley, D. (2003), *Plato's Cratylus*. Cambridge.
- Selden, D.L. (1999), "Cambyses' madness, or the reason of history", *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 42, 33–63.
- Sergueenkova, V. (2016), "Counting the past in Herodotus' Histories", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 136, 121–131.
- Sethe, K. (1923), "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte. (Totb. Kap. 107–109, 111–116.) Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919. Drittes Stück", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 58, 57–78.
- Sewall-Rutter, N.J. (2007), *Guilt by Descent: Moral Inheritance and Decision Making in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford.
- Shimron, B. (1973), "Πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν", *Eranos* 71, 45–51.
- Shipley, G. (2011), *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*, Exeter.
- Shisha-Halevy, A. (1989), "Papyrus Vandier recto: an early demotic literary text?", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, 421–435.
- Sieberer, W. (1995), *Das Bild Europas in den Historien. Studien zu Herodots Geographie und Ethnographie Europas und seiner Schilderung der persischen Feldzüge*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 96, Innsbruck.
- (2017), "Herodots Blick auf die Welt – ein kartographische Projektion antiker Weltsicht", in: R. Rollinger (ed.), *Die Sicht auf die Welt zwischen Ost und West (750 v. Chr. – 550 n. Chr.)*, *Classica et Orientalia* 12, Teil B, Wiesbaden.

- Simpson, W.K. (ed.) (2003), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, New Haven–London.
- Singleton, C.S. (1989), *Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy: Inferno*, vol. 2: *Commentary*, Princeton.
- Skinner, J.E. (2012), *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus*, Oxford.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1988), “‘Myth’ and history: on Herodotus 3.48 and 3.50–53”, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 17, 167–182, repr. in: Sourvinou-Inwood (1991), 244–283.
- (1991), *Reading Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford.
- (2003), “Herodotus (and others) on Pelasgians: some perceptions of ethnicity”, in: Derow/Parker (eds.), 103–144.
- Spalinger, A. (1978), “The concept of the monarchy during the Saite epoch — an essay of synthesis”, *Orientalia* 47, 12–36.
- Spiegelberg, W. (1914), *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten*, Leipzig.
- Stadelmann, R. (1982), “Pyramiden, AR” in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, 1205–1263.
- Stadter, P.A. (2012), “Thucydides as ‘reader’ of Herodotus”, in: Foster/Lateiner (eds.), 39–66.
- Stahl, H.-P. (1968), “Herodots Gyges-Tragödie”, *Hermes* 96, 385–400.
- (2012), “Herodotus and Thucydides on blind decisions preceding military action”, in: Foster/Lateiner (eds.), 125–54.
- Stahl, M. (1983), “Tyrannis und das Problem der Macht: die Geschichten Herodots über Kypselos und Periander von Korinth”, *Hermes* 111, 202–20.
- Starr, C.G. (1967), “Pindar and the Greek historical spirit”, *Hermes* 95, 393–403.
- Stein, H. (1883), *Herodotos, Erklärt von H. Stein*. Erster Band. Buch I–II, Berlin.
- (1893), *Herodotos. Erklärt von H. Stein*. Zweiter Band. Buch III–IV, Berlin.
- Stern, J. (1991), “Scapegoat narratives in Herodotus”, *Hermes* 119, 304–311.
- Stevenson Smith, W. (1971), “The Old Kingdom in Egypt and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period”, in: I.E.S. Edwards/C.J. Gadd/N.G.L. Hammond (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd edn., vol. 1.2: *Early History of the Middle East*, Cambridge, 145–207.
- Stier, H. (1928), “Νόμος Βασιλεύς”, *Philologus* 83, 225–258.
- Stoivesandt, M. (2004), *Feinde–Gegner–Opfer: Zur Darstellung der Trojaner in den Kampfszenen der Ilias*, Basel.
- Strasburger, H. (1972), *Homer und die Geschichtsschreibung*, Heidelberg.
- Stroheker, K.F. (1953–4), “Zu den Anfängen der monarchischen Theorie in der Sophistik”, *Historia* 2, 381–412.
- Svenbro, J. (1993), *Phrasikleia. An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece* (Engl. transl. by J. Lloyd), Ithaca, NY.
- Swain, S.C.R. (1994), “Man and medicine in Thucydides”, *Arethusa* 27, 303–327.
- Tatum, J. (1997), “Herodotus the fabulist”, in: M. Picone/B. Zimmermann (eds.), *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption*, Basel–Boston–Berlin, 29–48.
- Taylor, C.C.W. (ed.) (2010), *The Atomists Leucippus and Democritus. Fragments. A Text and Translation with a Commentary*, Toronto.
- Teeter, E. (2011), *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge.
- Theiler, W. (1965), “Νόμος ο παντων βασιλεύς”, *Museum Helveticum* 22, 69–80.
- Thomas, R.S. (1989), *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
- (2000), *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*, Cambridge–New York.

- (2006), “The intellectual milieu of Herodotus”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 60–75.
- (forthcoming), *Polis Histories, Collective Memories and the Greek World*.
- Thompson, N. (1996), *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community: Arion's Leap*, New Haven.
- Thomson, J. (1935), *The Art of the Logos*, London.
- Thonemann, P. (2016), “Croesus and the oracles”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 136, 152–167.
- Treu, M. (1963), “NOMOS ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ: alte und neue Probleme”, *Rheinisches Museum* 106, 193–214.
- Trittle, L.A. (2000), *From Melos to My Lai. War and Survival*, London–New York.
- (2006), “Warfare in Herodotus”, in: Dewald/Marincola (eds.), 209–223.
- Tuite, K.M. (2006), *Herodotean Tools. The Thematic Function of Objects in the Histories*, Diss. The University of Texas at Austin.
- Ubsdell, S. (1983), *Herodotus on Human Nature*, Diss. Oxford.
- van de Walle, B. (1934), “La ‘quatrième pyramide’ de Gizeh et la légende de Rhodopis”, *L'Antiquité Classique* 3, 303–312.
- van der Eijk, P. (1990), “The ‘theology’ of the Hippocratic treatise On the Sacred Disease”, *Apeiron* 23, 87–119 (repr. with a postscript in: van der Eijk 2005, 45–73).
- (1991), “‘Airs, Waters Places’ and ‘On the Sacred Disease’: two different religiosities?”, *Hermes* 119, 168–76.
- (2005), *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity: Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease*, Cambridge.
- (2016), “On ‘Hippocratic’ and ‘Non-Hippocratic’ medical writings”, in: L. Dean-Jones/R. Rosen (eds.), 17–47.
- van der Veen, J.E. (1993), “The Lord of the Ring: narrative technique in Herodotus’ story on Polycrates’ ring”, *Mnemosyne* 4, 433–57.
- Vandiver, E. (2012), “‘Strangers are from Zeus’: Homeric *xenia* at the courts of Proteus and Croesus”, in: Baragwanath/de Bakker (eds.), 143–166.
- Vannicelli, P. (2013), *Resistenze e Intesa. Studi sulle guerre persiane in Erodoto*, Bari.
- (2001), “Herodotus’ Egypt and the foundations of universal history”, in: N. Luraghi (ed.), 211–240.
- Vannicelli, P./Corcella, A. (eds.) (2017), *Erodoto: Le Storie Libro VII, Serse e Leonida*, Milan.
- Vansina, J. (1985), *Oral Tradition as History*, London–Nairobi.
- Vasunia, P. (2001), *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.
- Verdin, H. (1977), “Les remarques critiques d’Hérodote et de Thucydide sur la poésie en tant que source historique”, in: T. Reekmans/E. Van’t Dack/H. Verdin (eds.), *Historiographia Antiqua: Commentationes Lovanienses in honorem W. Peremans septuagenarii editae*, Leuven, 53–76.
- Verhoeven, U. (1997), “Erneut der Name des früheren Königs in der Erzählung des Papyrus Vandier (recto 1,6)”, *Chronique d’Égypte* 72, 5–9.
- Vernant, J.-P. (1982), “From Oedipus to Periander: lameness, tyranny, incest in legend and history”, *Arethusa* 15, 19–38, repr. in Buxton (ed.) (2000), 109–129.
- Verrall, A.W. (1896), “The megalithic temple at Buto: Herodotus II. 155”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 16, 158–163.
- Versnel, H.S. (1977), “Polycrates and his ring, two neglected aspects”, *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 1, 181–91.
- (2011), *Coping with the Gods*, Leiden–Boston.

- Viltanioti, I.F. (2015), "The emergence of political theory in Herodotus' 'Persian Debate': ancient controversies and modern repercussions in Otañes' speech on isonomia (Hdt. III 80, 25–31)", *Diotima* 43, 15–24.
- Vlastos, G. (1953), "Isonomia", *American Journal of Philology* 74, 337–366.
- (1964), "Isonomia politike", in: J. Mau/E. Günther (eds.), *Isonomia: Studien zur Gleichheitsvorstellung im griechischen Denken*, Berlin, 1–35.
- Voigt, E.-M. (1971), *Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta*, Amsterdam.
- von Beckerath, J. (1975), "Bichēris" and "Djedefre", in: W. Helck/E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 785–786, 1099–1100.
- (1982), "Mykerinos", in: W. Helck/W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, 274–275.
- von Staden, H. (1989), *Herophilos. The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria*, Cambridge.
- (1990), "Incurability and hopelessness: the Hippocratic Corpus", in: P. Potter/G. Maloney/J. Desautels (eds.), *La maladie et les maladies dans la Collection hippocratique. Actes du VIe Colloque international hippocratique*, Québec, 75–112.
- Waddell, W.G. (1939), *Herodotus: Book II*, London.
- (1940), *Manetho*, Cambridge, Mass.–London.
- Wainwright, G.A. (1953), "Herodotus II, 28 on the Sources of the Nile", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73, 104–107.
- Wallinga, H.T. (1959), "The structure of Herodotus II 99–142", in: *Mnemosyne* 12, 204–223.
- Waterfield, R. (1998), *Herodotus: The Histories*, Oxford.
- Waters, K.H. (1971), *Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots: A Study in Objectivity*, Wiesbaden.
- Węcowski, M. (2004), "The hedgehog and the fox: form and meaning in the prologue of Herodotus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 124, 143–164.
- Węcowski, M. (2014), *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, Oxford.
- Wesseling, P. (1758), *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum libri IX*, Amsterdam.
- Wesselmann, K. (2011), *Mythische Erzählstrukturen in Herodots Historien*, Berlin–Boston.
- West, M.L. (1978), *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford.
- West, S.R. (1985), "Herodotus' epigraphical interests", *Classical Quarterly* 35, 278–305.
- (1987), "And it came to pass that Pharaoh dreamed: notes on Herodotus 2.139, 141", *Classical Quarterly* 37, 262–271.
- (1991), "Herodotus' portrait of Hecataeus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111, 144–160.
- (1998), "Unremitting activity: Herodotus' Mycerinus and Zenon's correspondents", *ZPE* 123, 31–34.
- (1999), "Sophocles' *Antigone* and Herodotus book three", in: J. Griffin (ed.), 109–36.
- (2004), "Herodotus and lyric poetry", *Letras Clássicas* 8, 79–91.
- (2007), "Herodotus lyricorum studiosus", *Palamedes* 2, 109–130.
- (2011), "Herodotus' sources of information on Persian matters", in: R. Rollinger/B. Truschnegg/R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich. Akten des 3. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema 'Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen'*, Innsbruck, 24.–28. November 2008. *Classica et Orientalia* 3, Wiesbaden, 255–272.
- (2012), "Skylax's problematic voyage: a note on Herodotus IV 44", *Eikasmos* 23, 159–167.
- Wheeler, J.T. (1854), *The Geography of Herodotus. Developed, Explained, and Illustrated from Modern Researches and Discoveries*, London.
- Wiedemann, A. (1890), *Herodots Zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzig.
- (1926), "Der Geisterglauben im alten Ägypten", *Anthropos* 21, 1–37.

- Wiesehöfer, J. (2007), "Ein König erschließt und imaginiert sein Imperium. Persische Reichsordnung und persische Reichsbilder zur Zeit Dareios' I. (522–486 v. Chr.)", in: M. Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike*, Mainz, 31–40.
- Wilson, N.G. (2015), *Herodotea: Studies on the Text of Herodotus*, Oxford.
- Winter, F. (1956), *Die Kampfszenen in den Gesängen M N O der Ilias*, Frankfurt.
- Wiseman, T. (1983), "The credibility of the Roman annalists", *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 8.2, 20–22.
- Wood, H. (1972), *The Histories of Herodotus: An Analysis of the Formal Structure*, Ann Arbor.
- Woodman, A.J. (1988), *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies*, London–Sydney–Portland.
- Yatromanolakis, D. (2007), *Sappho in the Making: The Early Reception*. Hellenic Studies 28, Cambridge, Mass.–Washington DC.
http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_YatromanolakisD.Sappho_in_the_Making.2008
- Yoyotte, J. (1977–1978), "Religion de l'Égypte ancienne", *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Annuaire* 86, 163–172.
- Zalin, M.S. (2016), *Studies in Aetiology and Historical Methodology in Herodotus*, Diss. Duke University, NC.
- Zauzich, K.-T. (1988), "Wie maß-voll war Amasis?", *Enchoria* 16, 139–140.
- Zivie-Coche, C.M. (1972), "Nitocris, Rhodopis et la troisième pyramide de Giza", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 72, 115–138.
- (1991), *Giza au premier millénaire: Autour du temple d'Isis dame des pyramides*, Boston.

Index Locorum

Greek literary texts

Aelian

Varia Historia

13.33: 105, 122

Aelius Aristides

Oratio 2 Lenz/Behr (*In Platonem*)

226–31: 39, 45

229: 174

Scholía

Σ ad Ael. Aristidis orationem

2.226.18, 19–20: 45

Σ ad Ael. Aristidis orationem

2.229: 44

Aeschines

In Ctesiphontem

183–6: 281

Aeschylus

Eumenides

455–456: 238

Persae

45: 249

283: 170

454: 238

Prometheus Vincitus

632–633: 238

729–735: 142

Prometheus Solutus: 142

Septem contra Thebas

1070–1071: 48

fr. 74.5–6 Radt (*Heracleidae*): 43

fr. 191 Radt: 142

Apollodorus, mythographer

2.4.12: 50

2.5.8: 44

3.6.7: 100

Archilochus

fr. 19 West: 249, 253

Aristophanes

Nubes 206 f., 214 ff.: 154

Aristotle

De anima 404a: 159

Ethica Nicomachea

1094b20–2: 221

1132b 21–33: 101

Historia Animalium

521b24, 567a4–5: 166

Metaphysica

982b13: 140

Poetica

1451a36–1451b11: 223, 240

1451b17–19: 205

Rhetorica

1406a22–23: 39

1409a24–29: 248

fr. 573 Rose: 118

[Aristotle]

Constitutio Atheniensium

57.2: 65

Artemidorus

Oneirocritica 4.2, p. 243 Pack: 48

- Arrianus
Periplus Ponti Euxini
 19.1: 142
- Athenaeus
Deipnosophistae
 9.401f: 58
 9.410e: 110
 13.596c: 119
- Bacchylides
 fr. 14 Maehler: 250
- Celsus
 Ἀληθὴς λόγος
 5.34.40: 39
- Clemens Alexandrinus
Stromata
 1.29.181.4: 39
- Cratinus
 fr. 269 Kassel/Austin: 119
- Cypria*
 p. 40.28–29 Bernabé: 50
- Dante
Inferno
 XXVIII 118–142: 101
- Democritus
 B2 Diels/Kranz=820 Luria: 160
 A101 Diels/Kranz =820 Luria: 159
- Demosthenes
 18 (*De corona*).144: 240
 20 (*Adversus Leptinem*).158: 64–65
 21 (*In Midiam*): 209
- 128: 209
 143–50: 209
 199: 209
 23 (*In Aristocratem*).37: 65
- Dio Cassius
Historia Romana
 62.6: 111
- Dio Prusensis
Orationes
 75.2: 39
- Diodorus Siculus
Bibliotheca
 1.63.2–1.64.11: 114
 1.64.13–14: 114
 1.64.7–8: 115
 4.11.1–2: 50
 4.15.3–4: 43
 10.21: 239
- Diogenes Laertius
Vitae philosophorum
 4.4: 180
- Dissoi logoi*, ed. Robinson
 3.11: 53
- [Eratosthenes]
FGrH 610 F1 κβ = Manetho fr. 17
 Waddell: 98, 111
- Euripides
Alcestis
 481–498: 43
Alexander
 fr. 62g Kannicht: 170

Helen

1369–1373: 238

Heraclidae

17–25: 68

Hercules Furens

380–386: 43

Iphigeneia Aulidensis

1404–1405: 170

Orestes

46–50: 67

380: 238

512–515: 67

Supplices

429–434: 42

Troades

260–261: 238

fr. 910 Kannicht: 238–239

*Eustathius**Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*

3.691.6–10 van der Valk: 159–160

*Hecataeus of Abdera**FGrH* 264 F25: 113–115*Hecataeus of Miletus**FGrH* 1 F195: 142*FGrH* 1 F207: 126*FGrH* 1 F307–309: 163*FGrH* 1 F329–57: 126*FGrH* 1 F358: 110*Hellanicus**FGrHist* 4 F153: 163*Heraclitus of Ephesus*

B35 Diels/Kranz: 224

*Heraclitus**Quaestiones Homericae* 64–67: 166*Hermogenes**De ideis*II.421 Spengel = 2.12.18–20 (pp.
229–230) Patillon: 248*Herodorus of Heracleia**FGrH* 31 F3: 57*Herodotus**Prooemium*: 130, 133, 199, 216, 224,
243–244, 255, 266–268, 274,
284

1.1: 224, 243

1.1–5: 268

1.5.3: 137, 217, 251, 266, 274

1.5.4: 244, 268

1.7.1: 252

1.7.3: 166

1.8–13: 25–28

1.10.3: 247

1.12.2: 251–252

1.13.1: 253–254

1.13.1–2: 252

1.13.2: 217

1.14: 252

1.14.1: 246, 253

1.14.2: 251, 254, 261

1.14.2–3: 251

1.14.3: 246, 254

1.16.2: 246

1.19–25: 179

1.23: 228

1.24: 27, 225

1.28: 150

1.29: 56

1.29–33: 35

- 1.30–33: 217
 1.32: 37
 1.32.1: 29, 246
 1.32.7: 246
 1.32.9: 29
 1.34.1: 217
 1.42.2: 231
 1.46.1: 214, 217–218
 1.47.1: 254
 1.50–52: 256
 1.50.1: 257–258, 261–262
 1.50.1–3: 261–262
 1.50.1–5: 256
 1.50.2: 257
 1.50.3: 257–258
 1.51.1–3: 259–260
 1.51.2: 260
 1.51.3: 263
 1.52: 256
 1.53.2: 217
 1.53–55: 256
 1.56: 226
 1.56–58: 169
 1.59.1: 226
 1.61: 225
 1.65.1: 226
 1.68: 229, 234
 1.68.1: 229
 1.69.1: 226
 1.69.4: 256
 1.71.4: 195
 1.72: 145
 1.73.1: 214, 218
 1.85: 186
 1.86.2: 258
 1.87.3: 217
 1.90–91: 216
 1.92: 256
 1.92.1: 256
 1.92.2: 256
 1.93.1: 232, 250
 1.94.1: 251
 1.95.1: 141
 1.96.1: 57
 1.100.1: 27
 1.101: 150
 1.102: 141
 1.104.1: 147
 1.105: 179
 1.106.1: 141
 1.125: 150
 1.132: 37
 1.133.2: 194
 1.136.2: 50
 1.137.1: 47
 1.161: 179
 1.163.1: 151
 1.173.3: 166
 1.174.4–6: 179
 1.192: 141
 1.194: 234
 1.194.2: 234
 1.194.3: 234
 1.197: 175
 1.201–214: 153
 1.202: 142
 1.202.3: 190
 1.202.4: 142
 1.203: 147
 1.204: 214
 1.204.1: 140
 1.216: 179
 2.1.2: 150
 2.3.1: 150
 2.3.2: 168
 2.4.2: 164
 2.5: 140
 2.7: 148

- 2.7–9: 147
 2.10–12: 140
 2.10.3: 208
 2.15–17: 140
 2.15–34: 128
 2.19.3: 226
 2.20–25: 203
 2.20–27: 199
 2.20.3: 208
 2.21: 128, 140, 230, 232
 2.23: 37, 140, 203, 230
 2.29: 145
 2.29–31: 145
 2.29.1: 147, 226
 2.31: 145
 2.32: 144
 2.32.5: 140
 2.33.3: 141, 145
 2.34: 226
 2.34.1: 144
 2.35.1: 235
 2.43–45: 50
 2.44: 226
 2.44.5: 226
 2.45.1: 284
 2.45.3: 44
 2.50: 169
 2.52.4–5: 169
 2.53: 37
 2.77.2–6 182, 191
 2.77.3: 191
 2.79.2: 236
 2.79.3: 236
 2.84: 175
 2.99ff.: 104
 2.99.1: 224–227
 2.100: 102
 2.100.1–4: 116
 2.102: 143
 2.103: 142
 2.112–120: 129, 266
 2.112.1–3: 165
 2.113–115: 165
 2.113.1: 227
 2.116: 37
 2.116–117: 161
 2.116.1–2: 228
 2.116.3–5: 164, 228
 2.116.6: 141
 2.117: 37
 2.118: 225
 2.118–119: 163
 2.118.1: 224
 2.118.4: 164
 2.119: 225
 2.119.2–3: 129
 2.119.3 165, 225
 2.120.5: 227
 2.121–122.1: 264
 2.121–124: 102
 2.121ε: 95
 2.123.1: 283
 2.124: 94, 102, 110
 2.124–126: 77
 2.124–134: 77, 103, 109–110, 114,
 117
 2.125.6: 104
 2.126: 77, 95, 104, 106–107
 2.127: 77, 102
 2.128: 77, 94, 106–107
 2.129: 77
 2.129–133: 110, 117
 2.129–134: 77–107
 2.129.3–130.1: 78, 97
 2.130.1: 99
 2.130.1–132.3: 80
 2.130.2–131.2: 78
 2.131: 106–107

- 2.131.1: 97
 2.131.2: 93
 2.131.3 78, 97
 2.132.1: 82, 98
 2.132.2: 78
 2.133.1–3: 78
 2.133.3: 98
 2.133.4: 84, 99
 2.133.4–5: 78, 91
 2.134: 107
 2.134.1: 78, 109–110, 117
 2.134.2–3: 103
 2.134.2: 117
 2.134.2–135.6: 78
 2.134.3: 117
 2.134.4: 117
 2.134–135: 105–106, 109, 116–118, 120
 2.135: 37
 2.135.1: 118
 2.135.2: 105, 118
 2.135.2–5: 119
 2.135.5: 119
 2.135.6: 119
 2.137–140: 103
 2.140.2: 103
 2.142: 179
 2.148: 235
 2.148.1–6: 235
 2.148.6: 235
 2.148.7: 235
 2.149.2–3: 236
 2.149.2–4: 236
 2.149.4: 236
 2.155.1–3: 235
 2.156: 37, 230
 2.156.1: 236
 2.156.2: 230
 2.156.3 230
 2.156.4 230–231
 2.175.3: 236
 2.175.3–5: 236
 2.175.5: 236
 2.156: 37
 2.158: 143
 2.172.3–5: 91
 2.173: 89
 2.173.2: 91
 2.173.3–4: 91
 2.174: 92
 2.178.1: 120
 2.178.2–3: 120
 2.181: 275
 3.1: 33–36
 3.1.5: 189
 3.2: 46
 3.5: 141
 3.12: 233
 3.14: 35
 3.16–38: 45
 3.16.2–4: 47
 3.16.3–4: 180
 3.17–26: 153
 3.19: 153
 3.20–25: 147
 3.22.1: 50–51
 3.25: 153
 3.25.2: 187, 189
 3.26: 153
 3.27–29: 101
 3.29.1: 187
 3.30.1: 187
 3.31: 55
 3.31–3.38: 45
 3.31.4–5: 52
 3.31.5: 56
 3.32.4: 189
 3.33: 188

- 3.34.2–3: 187, 189
 3.35.1–3: 51
 3.35.2: 189
 3.36.4: 51
 3.36.4–6: 70
 3.38: 37–58, 171, 173–174, 188, 190
 3.38.1: 37, 45, 58
 3.38.1–2: 48
 3.38.3–11: 172
 3.38.4: 38, 51
 3.38.6: 174
 3.40–43: 29–32
 3.40.2: 29
 3.40.3: 29
 3.47.3: 236
 3.50–51.1: 225
 3.50.2: 30
 3.52.1–2: 64
 3.52.3–5: 72
 3.61.1: 189
 3.64: 101
 3.64.3: 36
 3.64.5: 187–188
 3.66: 188
 3.66.2: 177, 188
 3.72.4: 57
 3.76.2: 187
 3.80–82: 237
 3.80.3: 54
 3.80.4: 48
 3.80.5: 55
 3.82.5: 56
 3.90–94: 146, 149
 3.91.6: 28
 3.93: 143
 3.96.1: 141
 3.98.2: 140
 3.99.1: 190
 3.107.1: 140
 3.108–9: 199
 3.108.2: 182, 186
 3.114: 140
 3.115: 129, 140
 3.120.4: 30
 3.121: 37
 3.122.2: 29, 266
 3.125.1: 34
 3.129–133: 175
 3.129–37: 34
 3.133.1: 178
 3.135.1: 151
 3.136: 151
 3.143: 179
 4.3.2: 147
 4.8.1: 45
 4.8.2: 128, 140, 145
 4.16: 140
 4.16–27: 148
 4.17–23: 148
 4.21: 147
 4.23.3: 188
 4.25: 148
 4.27: 148
 4.28–29: 199, 231
 4.30.1: 231
 4.31: 140
 4.32: 37
 4.33.1–2: 151
 4.36–45: 141
 4.36.2: 129, 140
 4.37: 145
 4.38: 140
 4.39: 145
 4.40.1: 231
 4.40.2: 140–141
 4.41: 146
 4.42.1: 141, 231
 4.42.4: 144, 232

- 4.43: 143
 4.43.1: 143
 4.44: 126, 143
 4.45.1: 141, 232
 4.45.2: 140, 142
 4.48–49: 145
 4.48.4: 148
 4.50.3–4: 203
 4.51–57: 148
 4.53.2–3: 232
 4.53.5: 232
 4.84.1–2: 50
 4.85: 232
 4.85.1: 230
 4.85.2: 233
 4.85.3: 233
 4.85.3–4.86: 147
 4.86.1: 233
 4.86.2: 147
 4.86.4: 147, 233
 4.89–99: 150
 4.99: 148
 4.99.5: 148
 4.100: 148
 4.101: 148
 4.102–117: 148
 4.110.2: 140
 4.113–116: 37
 4.116: 151
 4.120–142: 153
 4.123–124: 153
 4.131–142: 153
 4.135.2: 216
 4.145.1: 216, 272
 4.145.3: 272
 4.145.5: 275
 4.145–148: 272
 4.145–159: 132, 271
 4.145–167: 125
 4.146.3: 275
 4.147.1: 272
 4.147.3: 273
 4.147.4: 133
 4.148: 166
 4.148.4: 273
 4.149: 272
 4.150–153: 132
 4.150: 133
 4.150.1: 272, 274
 4.150.2: 272
 4.151.2–3: 133
 4.152.2: 141, 151
 4.154.1: 275–276
 4.154.1–155.1: 275
 4.154–156: 133, 276
 4.155.1: 276
 4.155.1–3: 274
 4.155.2–3: 137
 4.159–67: 132, 134
 4.156.3: 133
 4.157–8: 133
 4.160: 179
 4.161.1: 136
 4.163.1: 136
 4.165.3: 216
 4.166.2: 216
 4.167.3: 134, 215
 4.168–99: 125
 4.169: 129, 133
 4.169.1: 126
 4.170: 126
 4.171: 126, 131
 4.172.1: 126
 4.175: 129
 4.177: 130
 4.178: 130
 4.178–179: 274
 4.179: 130

- 4.179.1: 130, 135
 4.180.4: 128
 4.180.5: 131
 4.181: 181
 4.181–185: 145, 148
 4.184.1: 127
 4.184.3–4: 131
 4.185.1: 127
 4.187.2–3: 128, 191
 4.187.2: 127
 4.187.3: 127
 4.188: 131
 4.189.3: 128
 4.191.1: 131
 4.191.4: 127
 4.192.3: 127
 4.195.1–2: 127
 4.195.2–4: 127–128
 4.196.1: 127
 4.197.1: 127
 4.198.1: 128
 4.200.1: 216
 4.200–205: 132
 4.202: 216
 4.202.1: 102, 216
 4.205: 102, 179
 5.1–16: 150
 5.9.1: 140
 5.32: 282
 5.36.2: 149
 5.39.2: 246
 5.42.1: 187
 5.42.3: 129
 5.43–47: 151
 5.49.1: 154
 5.50: 154
 5.51: 154
 5.56.1: 257
 5.74.2: 216
 5.78: 210
 5.92β–η: 237
 5.92β.3 : 257
 5.92η.3: 59
 5.95: 37
 5.97: 155
 5.97.3: 219
 5.101: 178
 5.102: 37
 5.113: 37
 6.13.2: 216
 6.21: 37
 6.27.1–3: 179, 184
 6.43.4: 141
 6.44.1: 215
 6.47: 166
 6.47.1: 233
 6.49.2: 216
 6.61.1: 216
 6.65.1: 216
 6.67.3: 30
 6.72.1: 216
 6.75.1: 187
 6.75.3: 216
 6.75–80: 216
 6.84: 187, 215
 6.84.2: 142
 6.84.3: 179, 187
 6.94.1: 216
 6.98.1: 5
 6.105: 6, 282, 284
 6.105.1: 6
 6.106: 56, 282
 6.107–8: 6
 6.108.3: 10
 6.108.4: 6
 6.109.3: 9
 6.109.3–6: 9
 6.112–114: 11

- 6.113.1: 11
 6.113.2: 11
 6.114: 11
 6.117: 229
 6.117.2–3: 14
 6.117.3: 229
 6.118: 16
 6.120: 16
 6.131.2: 257
 6.133.1: 216
 6.134.2: 178–9
 6.136: 177, 179
 7.6.1–2: 214
 7.8β: 141
 7.8β–γ: 152
 7.10β: 141
 7.11: 166
 7.12–18: 239
 7.16: 37
 7.18.2: 152
 7.49: 185
 7.53.2: 152
 7.61–99: 146–149
 7.62: 166
 7.80: 143
 7.83: 179
 7.88: 176
 7.89.2: 141
 7.96.1: 224
 7.102.1: 215
 7.117: 179
 7.125: 229
 7.126: 141
 7.129–30: 199
 7.135: 229
 7.138.1: 215
 7.139: 8, 203, 205
 7.152: 267
 7.165: 151
 7.166: 151
 7.171: 184
 7.175.1: 9
 7.175.2: 9
 7.204: 229
 7.206: 9
 7.208–210: 6
 7.210–211: 11
 7.211.3: 11
 7.212: 12
 7.219.1: 7
 7.220–221: 7
 7.220.1: 12
 7.220.2: 10, 251
 7.223.3–224.1: 12
 7.225.1: 12
 7.225.2–3: 12
 7.227: 14
 7.228: 16, 37
 7.229–232: 14
 7.233: 14
 7.233.2: 74
 7.234–235: 16
 7.234.1: 6, 14
 7.238.1–2: 50
 7.238.2: 16
 8.8: 229
 8.8.3: 282
 8.30.2: 204
 8.41: 7
 8.43–48: 20
 8.44: 166
 8.55: 7
 8.57: 9
 8.58: 9
 8.60α: 10
 8.60γ: 221
 8.64: 7
 8.65: 7

- 8.83.1–2: 8
 8.84.1–2: 12
 8.84.2: 12
 8.85: 12
 8.86: 12
 8.87–88 (*bis*): 12
 8.87.1: 20
 8.90.2–3 (*bis*): 13
 8.93: 14
 8.94: 14, 282
 8.95: 13
 8.96.2–3: 16
 8.109.3: 50
 8.113: 146, 151
 8.115.2–3: 185
 8.117.2: 183
 8.118.1: 283
 8.118.4: 283
 8.118–119: 184
 8.118–120: 283
 8.119.1: 283
 8.120: 283
 8.135.1: 229
 9.8.2: 208
 9.9: 9, 279
 9.10: 279
 9.10.1: 280
 9.10.3–11.1: 279
 9.11: 229
 9.12–13: 280
 9.14: 280
 9.15ff.: 280
 9.16: 7
 9.16.5: 7
 9.28: 20
 9.28–30: 278
 9.31: 142
 9.32: 151
 9.36–37: 8
 9.41.4: 214
 9.43.1–2: 8
 9.45.2: 214
 9.46: 280
 9.52: 20
 9.59.1–2: 13
 9.60.1: 10
 9.61–62: 13
 9.61.3: 8
 9.63.1: 13
 9.63.2: 13
 9.64.1: 8
 9.64.2: 151
 9.69: 13
 9.70: 13
 9.71: 15
 9.72.1: 15
 9.72.2: 15
 9.73–4: 15
 9.76: 17
 9.78–79: 17
 9.80–82: 17
 9.82: 195
 9.83: 17
 9.84: 283
 9.85: 17
 9.93–95: 179
 9.122: 195
 [Herodotus]
Vita Homeri
 1.141–146: 119
 Herophilus
 T 261 von Staden: 180
 Hesiod
Opera et dies
 35: 27

311: 158

761–764: 170

Theogonia

38: 244

85: 27

287–294: 43

517–519: 131

Fragmenta Merkelbach/West

240.6: 254

[Hesiod]

Melampodia

fr. 275, 276 Merkelbach/West: 100

Scutum

11–12: 43

82: 43

Hesychius

s.v. βασανίτης λίθος: 250

s.v. χρυσίτις λίθος: 250

Corpus Hippocraticum

Aphorismi: 190

3.1: 183

4.82: 178

Coacae praenotiones

279, 458, 459, 613: 181

De aëre aquis et locis: 190

2: 183

3: 128, 188

4: 212

5: 219

7: 210

12: 128

13: 142, 219

14: 212

15: 211, 219

16: 210

19: 219

22: 211, 213

23: 219

24: 213

De arte: 175

4–8: 221

De articulis

55: 177

De crisibus

44: 189

De diaeta in morbis acutis

2: 183

De diaeta salubri (De victu)

3.68–69: 176

3.70: 206

4: 220

De flatibus: 183, 201

6: 183

7–8: 213

14: 213

15: 213

De fistulis

1: 178

De glandulis

17: 178

De humoribus: 181

De locis in homine

29: 181

De morbis

1.3: 177

2.1: 192

2.7: 182

2.12: 193

2.24: 182

2.55.2: 186

4.54: 180

4.57.6: 177

De morbo sacro: 201

7: 205–206

10: 206

- 13: 212
 15: 209, 211
De mulierum affectibus
 1.7: 189
De natura hominis
 1–2: 201, 210
 9: 210
De prisca medicina: 183
 3: 185
 10–11: 206
 17–19: 206
 18: 205
 20: 239
 22: 205
Epidemiae (seu De morbis popularibus)
 1.10.1: 207
 1.19.1: 208
 2.5.11: 189
 2.6.2: 189
 2.24: 208
 4.1.25: 207
 4.55: 180
 6.1.11: 181
 6.2.5: 207
 6.3.7: 207
 6.3.12: 206
 6.6.5: 189
 6.7.1: 207
 6.7.2: 181
 6.8.26: 207
Prognosticon
 1: 186
 11a.3: 180
 25: 128
Prorrhethicon 2: 189

 Homer
Ilias
 1.146: 43
 1.290: 170
 2.112–120: 227
 2.484–493: 246
 2.485: 244
 5.403–4: 43
 6.289–292: 37, 161–162
 8.39–40: 160
 9.637: 170
 15.9–10: 159
 18.170: 43
 19.25–7: 179
 20.389: 43
 21.452: 43
 21.589: 43
 22.25–31: 182
 22.304–305: 245
 23.698: 159
Odysseis
 1.1–3: 137
 1.52–4: 131
 3.286–300: 131
 4.76–85: 129
 4.227–230: 41
 4.227–232: 168
 4.228: 163
 4.351–352: 41, 162
 4.379: 165
 4.384–386: 165–166
 4.411: 165
 4.452: 165
 4.468: 165
 4.478: 165
 4.582: 165
 9.80ff.: 131
 11.274: 170
 11.555: 170
 11.565–627: 43
 21.22–38: 43

22.31: 183

23.11: 170

Scholia

Σ *ad Il.* 2.400: 48

Σ *ad Od.* 4.384: 166

Hymni Homerici

15 (*Heracles*).6: 43

Iamblichus

Theologoumena arithmeticae

7.10–13: 166

[Longinus]

De sublimitate

13.3: 3, 248

Lucianus

Alexander

59: 180

Lysias

Orationes

6.52: 65

13.79: 66

Manetho

fr. 14 Waddell (*FGrH* 609 F2): 98

fr. 68 and 69 Waddell (*FGrH* 609 F2): 93, 111, 120

Nonnus

Dionysiaca

42.75–78: 111

Ovidius Naso

Metamorphoses

11.142: 250

Pausanias

Periegesis

1.15: 9

3.18.12–13: 43

8.14.8: 30

9.11.2: 50

10.5.13: 258

Peisander

fr. 10 Bernabé: 43

Pherecydes

FGrH 3 F14: 46

Philochorus

FGrH 328 F195: 28

Philolaus

B21 Diels/Kranz: 167

Philostratus

Imagines

2.25: 44

Pindar

Carmina epinicia

Olympicum

9.29–41: 44

Pythicum

1.75–80: 151

2.86–88: 54

4: 135, 268, 270–275

9ff.: 270

11–56: 270

20–23: 271

26–37: 270

48–49: 273

53: 270

59ff.: 270

173–175: 273
 254ff.: 271
 256–259: 273
 270–276: 270
 5: 136, 268, 270
 80–85: 270
 9: 135, 273
Fragmenta Snell/Maehler
 81: 44, 174
 169a: 37–45, 52–57, 170, 173–174
 215a: 48, 173
Scholia
Σ ad fragmentum 169a.10: 43
Σ ad Nem. 9.15: 45

Plato
Charmides
 163b–d: 157
Cratylus
 397b7–c2: 167
 397c8–d6: 167
Euthydemus
 288b–c: 166
Euthyphro
 51c–d: 166
Gorgias
 484a–c: 45, 58
 484b–c: 39, 172
 483d: 58
Ion 541e: 166
Leges
 690b: 45
 690b–c: 39
 695b2–7: 187
 714e–715a: 39, 45
 868e: 66
 889e–890a: 39, 45
 916a6, b4: 189
Politicus 293–298: 176

Protagoras
 320d: 186
 337d: 39, 45
 338e–347a: 158, 174
 339c7: 159
 339d1: 159
Respublica
 359e: 29
 558c: 54
Theaetetus
 155d: 240
 168c: 48

 [Plato], *Minos* 318a, 321c–d: 42

Plinius
Historia Naturalis
 5.110: 250
 33.126: 250
 36.82: 118

 Plutarchus
Vitae
Demetrius
 42.8: 39
Moralia
De Iside et Osiride
 366e: 80
 372b–c: 80
De sera numinis vindicta
 556f: 118
Ad principem ineruditum
 780c7: 39
De Herodoti malignitate
 870c: 15

Pollux
Onomasticon
 7.102: 250

Posidippus

122 Austin/Bastianini: 119

Proclus

Commentarii in Platonis Rempublicam I 112 lines 22–28: 166*Scholia ad Hesiodi Opera et dies*
311–312: 158

Prodicus

B5 Diels/Kranz: 168–169

Quintus Smyrnaeus

Posthomeric

6.270–277: 44

Sappho

fr. 15 Voigt/Campbell: 119

fr. 101.1 Voigt /Campbell: 110

Sextus Empiricus

Adversus Mathematicos

9.5: 166

9.18: 168–169

Simonides

epigramma VI Page, *Further Greek**Epigrams* (Hdt. 7.228): 37

fr. el. 11–18 West: 276–282

fr. el. 11.20ff.: 278

fr. el. 11.27ff.: 278

fr. el. 11.29–37: 279

fr. el. 11.31: 278

fr. el. 11.35: 282

fr. el. 15–16 282

Sophocles

Antigone

370/1–375: 66

Electra

372–391: 73

1100–1101: 238

Oedipus Tyrannus

216–275: 61–63

744–745: 70

787–797: 70–71

997–999: 71

1149–1150: 238

1156: 238

1484–1485: 238

Trachiniae

415–418: 238

Stesichorus

Geryoneis

fr. 19.7–8 and 36–37 Finglass (= S15 PMGF): 43

fr. 283 Finglass (= 230 PMGF): 50

Strabo

12.37: 233

13.1.23: 250

17.1.33: 105, 119, 121

Theocritus

Idyllia

12.36–37: 250

Theophrastus,

De lapidibus

4.45–47: 250

Thucydides

1.10.1–2: 247

1.21.1: 224, 266–267

1.23.6: 199, 202, 215, 219

1.33.3: 215

1.58.1: 215

1.78.1: 221

1.84.4: 221

1.140.1: 221

1.144.4: 221

2.8.3: 5

2.11.4: 221

2.17.4: 205

2.23.2: 205

2.25: 205

2.30: 205

2.56.1: 205

2.62.3: 222

2.64.1–2: 222

2.64.4–5: 221

2.65.11: 215

4.1–41: 205

5.70: 209

6.6.1: 215

7.2.4: 221

7.57.1: 215

Xenophon

Cyropaedia

8.3.37: 31

Memorabilia

1.2.56: 158

2.1.27: 168

Epigraphical Index

Achaemenid royal inscriptions

Dha: 152

DPg: 152

DPh: 152

DZc: 143

Greek inscriptions

SEG XLVIII 1330: 3

SEG IX 3 (=Meiggs-Lewis no. 5): 271

Egyptian texts

Book of the Heavenly Cow: 85

Coffin Texts no. 158: 94

Second Stele of Kamose (Luxor

J.43): 90

Stele of Cheops' Daughter (Cairo, JE

2091): 95

Stele of Ramses IV, Abydos (Cairo,

JE 48876): 90

Stele of Usersatet (Boston, MFA

25.632): 90

Papyri

Anonymus Londinensis, De Medicina 7.17–26: 183

P. Berlin 3033 (Papyrus Westcar): 95, 104

P. Bibl. Nat. 215 (Demotic Tale of Amasis): 89, 91

P. Brit. Mus. 10183 (*Tale of the Two Brothers*): 90–91, 105

P. Brit. Mus. 10335 (Report about Pethauemdiamun): 92

P. Chester Beatty I (The Contendings of Horus and Seth): 83, 93

P. Dem. Saq. 4 (Tale of Petese): 87

P. Oxy. 1800: 119

P. Petese Tebt. A (Tale of Petese): 89

P. Vandier (Tale of Merire): 86

Index of names and subjects

- Abdera 113, 142, 283
Accuracy 16, 147, 246
Achelous 208
Adeimantus 14
Adriatic 141, 151
Aegean 141–142, 145, 147, 266
Aegina 19, 216, 278
Aeginetan 12, 17, 265
Aelius Aristides 40, 171, 174
Aeolian 150
Aeschylus 12, 23, 37, 43, 48, 166, 238, 249
Africa 129, 136, 142–144, 191, 231–232
Agamemnon 165
agathoergos 229, 234
Ahuramazda 152
aitia 56, 273
Ajax 159
Alcibiades 209
Alcmaeon 250
Alcmaeonid 229
Alexander (see also Paris/Alexander) 162, 170
Alexander of Abonouteichos 180
Alexander of Macedon 214
allegory 58, 160–161, 165–166
Aly, Wolfgang 25, 60, 73–74, 80, 97, 105, 270–273
Alyattes 179, 246
Amasis 29–36, 45, 47, 89–94, 105, 110, 117, 120–121, 236
Ammonians 153
Amosis 114
Amphiareion 256
analogy 92, 101, 146, 219–220, 253
Anatolia 145
Anatolian 251–252
Anaximander 230
Antenor 270–271
anxiety 56, 246
Aphetæ 228
Apis 36, 101, 179, 187–188, 190
Apollo 16, 64, 67, 97, 101, 119, 135–136, 216–219, 229–230, 256–258, 270, 273–274
Apollo Ismenius 256
Apries 33–36, 46
Arabia 145
Arabian Gulf 143–144, 149, 231
Araxes 142, 153
Arcesilaus II 134
Arcesilaus III 134, 215, 272
Arcesilaus IV 135–136, 215
Archidamus 221
Archidice 119
Archilochus 37, 252–253
Argippaei 148, 188
Argonaut 26, 126, 129–137, 270–273, 276
Arimaspians 37, 148
Arion 29, 37, 225, 228
Aristagoras 129, 154–155
Aristides of Athens 13
aristocracy, aristocratic 42, 260, 276
Aristophanes 154
Aristotle 101, 118, 159–166, 166, 205, 221, 223, 240–241
Armaios 114
Armenia 145
Armenian 111
Artabanus 152, 185
Artemis, at Ephesus 256

- Artemisia 12, 14
 Artemisium (Greece) 4, 228, 282
 Asheri, David 8, 49, 146, 171, 187, 190, 234, 236, 254, 257
 Asia 128, 129, 140–142, 144–146, 150, 153, 195, 210, 226, 231, 237, 250, 283
 Asian, Asiatic 91, 210
 Asopus 8, 13, 280
 Assyria 57, 145
 Astyages 30, 56, 214
 Athena 126, 131, 160, 236
 Athenian 3, 6, 9–16, 19–20, 64–65, 67, 155, 187, 202, 204–205, 208, 215–216, 219, 221–222, 225, 229, 256, 266, 268, 278–282
 Athens 8–10, 19–20, 74, 148, 150, 155, 157, 173, 176, 204, 210, 215, 216, 219, 222, 226, 281
 Atlantic 142–143
 Atossa 178–179, 216
 Atys 217
 authenticity 143–144, 252–253
 authority 265, 267–268, 270, 274–276, 278, 284
 autopsy 45, 127, 226–227, 232, 245, 255, 261, 264

 Babylon, Babylonia 175, 234
 Babylonian 152, 175, 234
 Bactrians 146
 Bakker, Egbert 109, 224, 226, 243–246, 264, 266–267
 Baragwanath, Emily 37, 125, 205, 208, 216, 228, 266–267
 barbarian 3, 11–12, 27, 137, 149, 153, 169, 199, 223, 231, 237, 239, 254
 Barca, Barcean 101, 134, 179

 Battiad 269–272
 battle 3–20
 battle-narrative 4–5, 11, 18
 battle-exhortation 8, 18
 Battus 128, 132–134, 136–137, 179, 270, 272, 274–275
 beer 83, 85
 Berenice II 109
 Beroë 111
 Black Sea (see also Pontus) 141, 145, 147, 232–233
 Boedeker, Deborah 277–281
 Boeotia 9, 280
 Boeotian 13, 59, 209
 Borysthenes 232
 Bosporus 141, 146–147, 233
 Branchidae 256
 Brindisi 148

 Callatian Indians 38, 49, 52
 Callicles 49, 58, 172
 Callicrates 15
 Calliste 273
 Cambyses 4, 33–36, 38–39, 45–58, 70, 74, 101–102, 150, 152–153, 171, 177, 179, 187–190, 218
 Heracleian patterning 50
 incest with sibling 51–52
 madness 38, 45, 48, 50–51, 58, 171, 187–190
 opposition to *nomos* 46–47, 51–52
 Candaules 25–28, 30–31, 34, 36, 96, 252
 Candaules' wife 26–27, 36
 Cape of Good Hope 232
 Carian 229–230
 carousing pharaoh 78, 84, 86–87, 89–91, 99

- Carthage 126, 153
 Carthaginian 127, 143, 151, 153
 cartographer 128–129
 Caspian Sea 140, 142, 147
 catalogue 19–20, 47, 126, 141, 143, 146, 148–152, 154, 218, 246, 249, 256–257
 Catherine of Aragon 200
 Caucasus 142
 causality, religious 179, 211–213
 cause (see also predispositions) 3, 36, 50, 63, 67, 73, 87, 91, 94, 97, 178–179, 182–183, 187–188, 192, 201–202, 204–206, 209–214, 218–219, 221, 223, 227, 238, 244, 258
 cauterisation 128, 191–193
 Celt 141, 145
 change/*metabolē* 177, 182, 185, 194–195, 210, 212–213, 219–220, 248, 255, 261–262, 264
 Charaxus 118–121
 Chemmis (pharaoh) 114
 Chemmis (island) 230, 233
 Cheops 77, 94, 95, 98, 102–107, 110, 112, 114, 116–117
 Cheops' daughter 77, 95, 105
 Chephren 77–78, 94, 98, 102–104, 110, 114, 117
 Churchill, Sir Winston 200
 Cilicia 145
 Cleomenes 129, 154, 179, 187–188, 190, 215–216
 Cleopatra 200
 climate 182, 195, 210, 212–213, 219–220, 231
 cognitive 25, 238, 248, 263
 coherence of a literary text 48, 159, 161, 164, 173–174
 Colaeus (of Samos) 141, 151
 Colchian 145, 270
 Colchis 134, 233
 collective burnt offering 257
 constitutional debate 51, 54–58, 237
 continent 126, 139–142, 144, 147, 153, 219, 232, 249
 contingency 244, 255–256, 260–261, 263
 control, shift of 258
 Corcyra 59, 64, 72, 215
 Corcyran 64
 Corinth 19, 59, 63, 64, 69–72, 278
 Corinthian 14, 15, 59, 202, 228, 237, 252, 257–259, 261, 278, 282
 Corinthian treasury, Delphi 258–259
 cosmos 167, 265
 cow-goddess, Egyptian 81
 crater 251–253, 255, 259–263
 Critias 157–158
 criticism, literary 58, 157, 159, 164, 174, 228, 247
 crocodile 94, 144, 235
 Crocodile-city 235
 Croesus 28–29, 35, 45, 51, 150, 186, 214, 216–219, 225–226, 239, 249–252, 255–259, 261–263
 Croton 151, 175
 Ctesias 187
Cypria 50, 161
 Cyprus 134, 145
 Cypselid 59, 64, 237,
 Cypselus 59–60, 133, 251–253, 257, 261
 Cyrene 125, 132–137, 266, 268, 270–276
 Cyrenean 132–137, 134–137, 271, 271–272, 274–275

- Cyrus 4, 26, 30, 33, 46, 56, 133, 141, 150, 152–153, 177–178, 195, 214, 216, 256
- Darius 4–5, 26, 38, 49–50, 55–58, 74, 143, 146, 149–150, 152–154, 171–172, 178, 216
 experiment of 38
- Datis 16
- David, Jonathan 243, 245–247, 249, 252, 254, 256, 261–263
- de Bakker, Mathieu 125, 163–165
- decay 255
- dedicant 258–259, 262
- dedications 246–247, 250–252, 254–259, 261–264
- dedicatory ensemble 259
- dedicatory setting 255
- Deioces 57, 150
- deixis ad phantasma* 258
- Delos 5, 16, 151
- Delphi 21, 101, 117, 119, 130, 132–133, 136, 184, 249–254, 256–259, 262, 274
- Delphian 117, 259–260, 262–263
- Delphic oracle 26, 28, 36, 61, 70, 134, 136–137, 184, 204, 216, 246, 249, 253–254, 256, 270, 274
- Demaratus 6–7, 16, 187, 215–216
- Demeter 15, 169, 179, 277
- Democedes 34, 151, 175, 178–179, 228
- democracy 10, 42, 54–55, 222, 237
- democratic 67, 237, 257
- Democritus 157, 159–161, 174
- demokratia* 55
- demonstratio ad oculos* 258
- Dewald, Carolyn 45, 216, 218, 222, 225, 229, 243–244, 247, 273, 276
- diachronic persistence 255
- Didyma 256
- diet 183, 185, 190, 194–195
- Diomedes (Thracian) 41, 43–44, 49–50, 171, 173
- Dionysus 169
- disease 65–66, 87, 175–183, 185–190, 192–193, 206–207, 209–211, 213, 215, 219
- disease, sacred (see also epilepsy) 187–190, 201, 205–206, 209, 213, 218
- disintegration 258
- Dissoi Logoi* 53
- dissolution 56, 258
- doctor 33–35, 151, 175–178, 183, 185–186, 190–191, 201, 207, 221
- Dodona 151
- dolphin 225, 228
- Dorian 226
- Doricha 119, 121
- Dorieus 129–130, 137, 151
- dreams 6, 16, 239, 257
- drink in Egyptian religion 83–86
- durability 244, 251, 255–256, 260–26
- dysentery 185–186
- Eetion 252–253
- Egypt 33, 34–36, 46–47, 51, 77–79, 86, 88, 93–94, 104–107, 109, 111, 113–116, 118–122, 126, 128–129, 134, 141, 143, 146–147, 161–164, 169, 173, 179, 183, 190, 225–227, 232, 266, 284
 as *mundus inversus* 106–107
- Egyptian 1, 33, 35, 38–39, 45–47, 50–51, 75, 77, 79–86, 88–90, 92–96, 98, 102–104, 106–107, 109–

- 115, 117, 120–122, 128–129, 143–145, 148, 150, 161–165, 168–169, 174–175, 179–180, 182–183, 187, 226–227, 230, 233–236, 266, 284
- Egyptian fiction 79, 86, 95
- Egyptian myths 81, 89, 119
- Egyptian traditions 115, 120–121
- Eidothea 166
- Elam 152
- Elean 231, 273
- Electra 66
- Elephantine 85, 145, 147, 236
- Elis 231, 273
- empirical method 244–245, 263
- enacted enquiry 245–246
- enactment 244–245
- enquiry (see also inquiry) 1, 135, 244–247, 261, 263, 284
- Epeius 159
- Ephesian Artemisium 256
- Ephesus 147
- epilepsy (see also disease, sacred) 188, 212–213
- Epizelus 14, 229
- Eretria 215, 219, 278
- Erythraean Sea 142
- Etearchus 276
- Ethiopians 4, 50, 146–147, 152–153
- ethnographer 128
- ethnographic(al), ethnography 125–130, 135–136, 138, 149, 154, 190, 195, 201,
- etymology 42, 160–161, 165, 167–170, 174
- Eugammon (of Cyrene) 271
- Euphemus 130, 136, 271–273, 275
- Euphrates 234
- Euripides 50, 66, 68, 97, 163, 170, 224, 238–239
- Europe 128–129, 140–142, 144–15, 231–232
- European 210
- Euryalus 159
- Euryanax 280
- Eurybiades 10
- Eurypylus 136
- Eustathius 159–160
- Euthymenes (of Massilia) 143
- excommunication 60, 64–71, 75
- expedition 132, 138, 142–144, 151–153, 214–215, 232, 239, 272, 276, 279, 282
- explanation 1, 34, 78, 97, 99, 160–161, 166–169, 181–182, 184, 186–187, 191, 196, 199–200, 202–203, 209–222, 229, 231, 233–234, 236, 251, 272
- families, aristocratic 276
- fate 63, 66, 70, 78, 86, 88, 99–100, 189, 217, 239, 247, 271
- Fehling, Detlev 165, 214, 249
- female disease 179, 211, 213
- fisherman (and Polycrates) 30–31, 34, 36
- fixedness 255
- Flower, Michael 13, 15, 17, 20, 237
- focalisation 11, 33–34, 176, 179, 190
- folk tales 1, 35, 79, 136
- forethought, divine 186
- forgery 253
- Fowler, Robert 58, 126, 143, 154, 166, 199, 225, 244
- Gadeira 145
- geographical, geography 1, 5, 125–126, 128–129, 131–133, 135–138

- Geryon 41, 43–44, 49, 171, 174
 Giangiulio, Maurizio 132, 135, 270–272, 274, 276
 gift-exchange 255
 Gigante, Marcello 42, 44–45, 48–49, 53
 Giza 77, 93–94
 god 6–8, 10, 15, 18, 28–29, 32, 47, 63, 67, 78, 80–86, 88, 90–92, 94, 100–101, 130–131, 134, 148, 152, 160, 162–168, 170, 179–180, 182, 184–187, 199, 204, 211, 216–217, 220, 228, 231, 250, 252, 258–259, 262, 273, 277, 280
 names of 164, 168–170
 nature of 167–168
 good fortune 29, 32, 36, 218
 Gordias 251–252, 254
 Gorgias 163
 Graziosi, Barbara 164
 Gúfah 234
 Gyges 25–28, 36, 96, 217, 246, 251–256, 258–259, 261

 Halys 145, 150
 Hamilcar 151
 Hanno 126, 143
 Harpagus 30
 Harrison, Thomas 5, 6, 166, 169
 Hathor 81–86
 health 128, 175–176, 179, 182–183, 185, 190–195
 Hecataeus (of Abdera) 113–115, 142
 Hecataeus (of Miletus) 110, 113, 121, 126, 140–142, 149–150, 154, 163, 203, 230
 Hector 159–160, 227
 Helen 129, 161–164, 173, 227–228, 266, 270

 Heliopolis 88–89, 148
 Hellanicus 126, 163, 265, 284
 Hellas 10, 141, 146, 149, 151–153
 Hellene 138, 149–151, 153
 Hellenion at Naucratis 120
 Hellespont 141, 146–147, 233, 239
 Hephaestus 45, 169
 Heracles 39, 41, 43–45, 49–50, 52–53, 57–58, 126, 129, 131, 168, 171–173, 189
 and Geryon's cattle 43, 171–172
 assault on Diomedes 43, 171–172
 violence of 43–44, 50, 52–53
 Heraclid 25, 252
 Herodorus of Heracleia 58
 Herodotus *passim*
 Herodotus the narrator 246–248
 associative mode 248
 context-based technique 248
 diachronic representation 248
 direct speech, significance of 3, 28, 30, 32, 34–36
 disproportion 28
 enumeration 171, 247, 255
 generic interplay with poetry 37, 39, 58
 gnomai 26–27, 49
 and Homer 11, 37, 248
 imagery 253, 259
 irony 69, 84, 96, 98, 102–103, 107, 155, 195, 254, 256, 267
 layers of meaning 79
 litotes 253
 mnemotechnic device 243
 object 1, 29, 31, 79, 243, 245–250, 252, 254–255, 257–260, 262–264
 order 33

- punning 33, 36, 98, 165
 prose style 248
 repetition 27, 31–33, 35–36, 45–46, 174, 248, 250, 255, 272
 ring-composition 46, 104, 119, 195
 sign-vehicle 244
 speech and action 30
 structure 4, 5, 11, 26, 30, 49, 103, 150, 248, 253
 substitution 61, 248, 250, 255
 symmetry 96, 99, 103–104, 107
 textual enclave 247, 249
 time-manipulation 86, 99
 Hesiod, commentaries on 158
hetaera 78, 104–105, 109, 116
 Hetep-heres II 112
 Hévin, Prudent 182
 Himera 151
 Hipparchus 257
 Hippias, tyrant 6–7
 Hippocratic corpus 127–128, 175, 180–181, 183–184, 186, 190, 192, 195, 201, 206
historiē 52, 224
 Hollmann, Alexander 92, 105, 243–244, 247, 257
 Homer, Homeric 3–5, 8, 11–13, 15, 17–20, 28, 37, 58, 119, 128, 130–131, 135–137, 157, 159–161, 163–166, 170, 173–174, 179, 182–183, 227–228, 244–247, 260, 268–269, 276–279, 281–282, 284
 Homer, commentaries on 159, 174
 Homer, *Iliad* 3, 12, 18, 159, 160–162, 164, 170, 174, 179, 182, 227–228
Catalogue of ships 247
 Homer, *Odyssey* 129, 131, 135, 137, 151, 161–165, 170, 174, 228
 Hornblower, Simon 12, 133, 201, 205, 209, 216, 222, 237, 279, 281–282
 Horus 80, 83, 85, 93–94, 230
 Hume, David 202–203, 205–206, 209
hybris 43, 50, 54, 153, 209, 239, 272
 Hyperborean 135, 151

 Iadmon 117–118, 120
 Iapygia 148
 Iberia 141, 151
 Idmon 118
Iliad see Homer, *Iliad*
 Immerwahr, Henry 4, 11, 29, 46, 199, 223, 243–244
 Inaros 114
 incest 51–52, 59, 78, 80–83, 93–94, 97, 99, 106
 India 140, 143
 Indian 38, 49, 146, 171–173
 indirect speech 30, 52, 282
 Indus 142–143, 152
 inquiry (see also enquiry) 52, 125, 128, 137–138, 159, 164, 179, 223–226, 228, 238–241
 Ion 166
 Ionia 224, 237, 239
 Ionian 12–14, 128, 150, 166, 169, 216, 224, 226, 237, 239
 Ionian Revolt 4, 150, 219, 237
 Iphigeneia 165, 170
 Irwin, Elizabeth 74, 155
isonomiē 55
 Issedonians 146, 148
 Ister 141, 144–145
 Isthmus 9, 204–205, 208, 278–280

- de Jong, Irene 28, 33, 129, 163, 165, 175, 228, 277
- Jouanna, Jacques 175, 178, 180–181, 183, 185, 188–189, 192–195, 210–211
- justice 42–43, 48, 58, 63, 70, 98–99, 101, 165, 171–173, 187, 215, 251, 254
- kingship 28, 39, 46, 49, 50–51, 56–58, 78, 94, 152, 252, 273
- kleos* (see also κλέος) 3, 20, 244–246, 251, 263, 268, 277–278, 281, 284
- Krischer, Tilman 243–244
- Kush 90, 152
- Labda 59
- Labdacid 59
- Labdacus 59, 62–63
- Labyrinth 235–236
- Lacedaemon 226, 272–273, 275
- Lacedaemonian 13, 204, 273–274, 278, 280
- Ladice 275
- landmark 126, 129–131, 136, 146
- Lateiner, Donald 48, 54–57, 201, 205, 214, 243, 245, 247–248, 251, 266
- latitude 144, 146
- law (see also *nomos*) 38, 45–46, 49, 51–53, 55–57, 65, 171–174, 188, 233
- league tables 209, 212, 214
- Lemnian 271, 275
- Lemnos 26, 132, 272, 276
- Leonidas 3, 7–8, 10–14, 16–17, 229
- Libya 126–128, 130–138, 140–144, 146, 148, 181, 190–191, 215–216, 231, 256, 270, 272–274
- Libyan 112, 125–136, 138, 141, 144, 145, 151, 182, 191, 194, 216, 274
- Lichas 229, 234
- Linos 236–237
- lion, statue 257–258
- lions, Thracian 229
- loimos* 185–186
- Long-heads 212
- longitude 144–146
- lost objects found 29, 32
- Lycophron, son of Periander 61, 63–64, 68–73
- Lycus 166
- Lydia 126, 195, 232, 249–250, 257
- Lydian 27–28, 166, 195, 217, 243, 246–247, 249–252, 254–258, 261
- Lydian kings 246–247, 249–250, 252, 255–256
- Lydian stone 250
- Lydus 166
- Macedon 214
- Macedonia 150
- madness 45, 48, 50–51, 58, 171, 179, 187–190, 195–196, 215
- Maehler, Herwig 40
- Maeotis 142, 147
- Magi 237
- magic, magical 87–88, 94, 250
- magician 86–87, 95
- Maneros 236–237
- Manetho 93, 98, 104, 111–112, 115, 120
- map 129, 138–148, 153–155, 231
- Marathon, battle of 4, 6–7, 9–11, 14, 16, 19, 229

- Mardonius 8, 13, 17, 214, 229, 237, 280, 283
 Marincola, John 3, 10, 13, 15, 17, 37, 164, 228, 277, 280, 282
 marvel, marvellous (see also *thōma*, *θῶμα*) 14–17, 118, 223, 228–234, 236–237, 239–240, 251–252, 281
 Massagetae 4, 146, 152–153, 214
 Massilia 143
 material artifacts 246–247, 264
 materiality 246, 249, 264
 Mede 8, 11, 57, 141, 145, 150–151, 166
 Medea 133, 136, 166, 270–271, 273
 Mediterranean 140–145, 231
 Megara 202, 278, 280
 Meidias 209
 Menelaus 50, 126, 129, 133, 137, 162–166, 227, 278, 280
 mental map 141, 143–146, 153
 Meresankh III 109, 112
meretricula 118
 Merire 86–87
 Mermnad 25, 250–252, 255, 257–258, 261
 Meroë 145, 147, 153
 metallurgy 253
 metonymy 254, 257
 Midas 251–252, 254, 258
 Mill, John Stuart 201, 209
 Miltiades 9, 177, 179, 216
 Minos 29, 266–267
 Minyae, Minyan 132, 268–276, 284
 Moeris, Lake 236
 monument 93–94, 102–107, 152, 235, 243, 246–247, 264
 morality 28, 47, 55, 58
 mule 231
 Munson, Rosaria 12, 45, 48, 52, 166, 195, 223, 228
 Muse 244–246, 270, 278
 mutability 244, 251, 255–256, 260–261, 263
 Mycale 4
 Mycerinus 77–84, 86–94, 96–100, 102–104, 106–107, 110, 114–115, 117
 Mys 229–230
 myth 1, 26, 39, 42, 49, 60–61, 71, 75, 81, 84–85, 93, 97, 100–101, 115–116, 121–122, 125, 131, 135–138, 144, 265–268, 270–273, 276–277
 mythic 60, 129, 135–136, 276
 mythical 79, 82–85, 93–94, 97, 100–101, 125, 127, 129–136, 166, 225, 228, 267–268, 270, 272, 284
 mytho-cosmic 232
 Nagy, Gregory 37, 110, 119, 243–244
 Naucratis 78, 104, 109, 119–122
 Nazism 209
 Necos 144, 153, 232
 night turned into day 99
 Nile 25, 128, 140, 143–145, 147, 163, 168–169, 199, 203, 208, 215, 226, 230, 232, 235–236, 238, 284
 Nitetis 33–36, 46
 Nitocris 102, 109, 111–112
nomos 37–39, 41–58, 171–175, 190, 212, 215
 as monarchic 42, 44, 56–57
 as custom 38, 44, 48, 53, 55, 75, 171–175, 180, 188, 212
 as the will of Zeus 44
 as law 53, 57

- frequency in Book 3 45–46
 marketplace of 47–49
 paradox of 58
 nosebleed 208–209
nostoi, nostos 129–130, 133–135, 137
 nudity 26, 59

 Oarus 153
 Obbink, Dirk 119
 Ocean, Oceanus 128–129, 139–140, 203, 230, 232
Odyssey see Homer, *Odyssey*
oecumenē 153
 Oedipus 59–61, 63–64, 68–71, 73–75, 99–100
Oedipus the King 61, 66, 73–75
 offering 85, 88, 91, 118–119, 246–247, 249, 251–259, 261
 omens 5–8, 13, 18, 98, 152
 oracles 5–7, 16, 26–28, 61, 63, 69–71, 78–79, 84, 86, 91–92, 98–100, 130, 132, 134, 136–137, 184, 204, 214, 217–218, 229, 235, 246, 249, 251, 253–254, 256–258, 270, 274
 about time of death 78, 87–89
 irreverently received 86, 91–92
 oral performance 1, 248
 Orestes 66, 229
 Oroetes 29
 Osborne, Robin 249

 Paeon 162
 Panhellenic 137, 271, 274
 Paré, Ambroise 182
 Paris/Alexander 161–164, 227–228
 Pausanias, Spartan 8, 10, 13, 15–19, 195, 278–282
 Peisetaerus 26

 Peisistratus 225
 Pelasgian 166, 168–170
 Pelion 229
 Pelling, Christopher 3, 11, 17, 37, 45, 54, 55, 57, 154, 157, 201, 204, 208, 215–218, 224, 250–251, 277
 Peloponnese 9–10, 130, 135, 204–205, 266, 273
 Peloponnesian 204, 275
 Peloponnesian war 19
 causes of 202, 215
 Pelops 166
 Periander 59–60, 63–64, 67–75, 96, 133, 218, 225
 Pericles 187, 202, 221–222, 257
 peripheral role 260
periplous 126, 129, 131, 135, 137
 Persia 6, 11, 34, 46, 51–52, 54–55, 57–58, 143, 145, 146, 149, 152, 190–191, 194, 222, 237, 256
 despotism of 39, 45, 58
 Persian 3–13, 15–19, 38–39, 45–47, 49–52, 54–58, 74, 88, 92, 101, 132, 134, 138, 141, 143, 145–146, 149–150, 151, 152–153, 155, 184, 187–188, 190, 194–195, 204, 214–216, 223, 229, 233, 237, 239, 247, 256, 269, 272, 279–283
 Persian Empire 146, 149–150
 Persian Gulf 143
 Persian wars 4–5, 11, 15, 17, 138, 141, 153, 265, 267–269, 272, 278, 281–284
 Persian royal ideology 153
 Petese 87–89
 Pheidippides 6–7, 9, 18
 Pheretime 101–102, 132, 134, 179–181, 216, 271
 philhellene 120

- Philolaus 167
 philology, development of 160–161
 philosopher, natural 224
 phlegm (see also φλέγμα) 128, 189, 191–193, 212
 phlegmatic 211
 Phocian 205
 Phoenician 151
 Phrygia 251–252, 254
phthisis 176
 Pillars of Heracles 126, 141, 143–145, 232
 Pindar 37–54, 57–58, 135–137, 151, 170–174, 186, 266, 268, 270–276
 fr. 169, genre 42
 fr. 169a, interpretation 42–45
 fr. 169a on justifying violence 39, 42, 49–50, 53–54, 172–173
 fr. 169a, integration into *Histories* 45–46
 Pisa (Olympia) 148
 Phocaeans 141, 151
 Phoenician 12–14, 16, 133, 143–145, 151, 232–233, 273, 283
 Phronime 275–276
 plague 61, 176, 179, 182–187, 190, 196
 Plataea, battle of 4, 7–11, 13, 15–16, 19–20, 150–151, 195, 214, 266, 268, 276–278, 281–282
 Plato 39–40, 48–49, 157–159, 161, 164, 166–169, 171–172, 174, 176, 186–187, 189, 240
 Player, Gary 221
 Plutarch 15, 80, 158, 187
 poetry:
 as antecedent or source 37, 39, 125, 170
 pollution 63, 67, 183–184
 Polycrates 29–32, 34–36, 218, 266
 Pontus (see also Black Sea) 146
 Poseidon 126, 130–131, 136, 169
 Potidaea 215
 Potidaean 278
 Poudrier, Almira F. 256–257, 259–261, 263
 predictability 200, 221–222
 predispositions and triggers 212, 215
 Priestley, Jessica 228–230, 235, 238, 240–241
 Prodicus 157–159, 167–170, 174
 on language and etymology 167–170
 on the nature of gods 168–169
promachoi 19–20
 proof 38, 43, 57–58, 144, 163, 239, 265, 268, 283,
prophasis 212, 216
 prophecy 5–6, 8, 16, 18, 36, 59, 78, 86, 88–89, 91–92, 98, 130, 136, 270, 273–274
 Propontis 141, 147
 Protagoras, 157, 159, 161, 167, 174
 on poetry 161, 174
 Proteus 131, 133, 162–166, 228
 Polydamna 162–163
 Psammetichus 35
 Ptolemy III Euergetes 109
 Ptoön 229
 punishment 28, 41, 56, 59, 68–69, 78, 92, 94, 98, 100–101, 134, 182, 187, 211, 215–217
 Pylades 66
 pyramids, ancient lore about 77–79, 89, 93–95, 102, 104–106, 110–111, 113–117, 119
 Pyrene 145

Pythia (see also Delphic oracle) 229

Ramses IV 90

rationalisation 170, 183–185, 266, 274

rationalise 131, 136, 138, 168, 265–266, 274–276, 283–284

rationalism 239

rationalistic 100, 163

Red Sea 143, 231

Reeves, John 182

Regenbogen, Otto 243

Reisner, George 112

relativism 9, 10, 13–14

religion 187

retaliation 100–102

revenge 26, 35, 61, 94, 134, 179, 219

rhetoric, rhetorical features 1, 25, 30, 54–55, 155, 204, 209, 211, 231, 235, 248

Rhodopis 78, 104–106, 111–122

Rood, Tim 47, 49, 57, 126, 226

Rotstein, Andrea 252–253

Royal Road 147

Sacae 146

sacrifice 7, 63, 65–66, 132, 165, 211, 252, 257, 279

Salamis, battle of 4, 7–10, 12, 14–16, 18–20, 150–151, 239, 282

Salamis (island) 279

Salamis (in Cyprus) 134, 268

Samos 117, 120, 134, 141, 151, 260, 263

Samothrace 233

Samothracian 14

sanctuary 8, 15, 130, 151, 216, 229, 251, 254, 256, 261–263

Sappho 37, 109–110, 118–121

Sardis 147, 152

Saspire 145

Sataspes 143

Scione 228

Scrooge McDuck 250

Scylax of Caryanda 126, 143

Scyllias 228–229

Scythia 45, 148, 211, 216, 231–232

Scythian 4, 141, 148, 151–153, 179, 190–191, 199, 211, 213, 216, 231–232

seeing, illicit 26

semiotics 247

Sesostris 143, 153

Sextus Empiricus 166, 168–169

shipwreck 228–229

Sicilian expedition 214–215

Simonides 37, 158, 161, 164, 174, 265–269, 276–278, 280–282, 284

Socrates 157–158

Sogdiana 152

Solon 29, 35, 37, 56, 217, 239

Sophanes of Decelea 15

sophistic 48, 54–55, 158–159, 164, 171, 174, 224

sophists 49, 126, 157–158, 161, 166–167, 174

on correctness of words 159, 167–168

Sophocles 59–61, 66–71, 73–75, 97

space 5, 131, 141, 149, 152–153, 245, 250–251, 253–255, 261

Sparta 6, 10, 16, 19–20, 55, 132, 136–137, 154, 162, 216, 226, 229, 266, 270–273, 275–276, 278–281

Spartan 6–9, 11–17, 19–20, 129–130, 132, 187, 195, 202, 205, 208–

- 209, 216, 229, 234, 236, 256,
268–269, 272–282, 284
starvation 185–186
Stesichorus 43, 50, 163
strategy 8–9, 18, 48, 228
Susa 147, 154
symbolic, symbolically 69, 115, 260
Symplegades 230, 233
symposium, aristocratic 260
Syria/Palestine 141
- Taenarus 136, 228, 273
Tarentum 148, 151
Tartessus 141, 145, 151
Tauri, Tauricē 148
tax districts 143, 146, 149–150
Tegea 9, 229, 234
Tegean 13, 229, 278–279
Telesicrates 135
Thasos 166, 233
Theban (Greek) 14, 16, 59, 68, 229,
256
Thebes (Egypt) 92, 145
Thebes (Greece) 7, 59, 173, 256
Themistocles 8–10, 14, 218, 221
Themiston 275–276
Theoclymenus 163
Theodorus of Samos 30, 260, 263
Thera 132–133, 136, 266, 268,
270–273, 275–276
Theran 132–133, 137, 268–270,
273–276
Theras 132, 272–273
Thermopylae, battle of 3–4, 7–11,
14–16, 19
Thespian 14, 19
thōma (see also marvel, θῶμα) 229,
241, 279
- Thomas, Rosalind 58, 106, 126, 157,
166–169, 171, 175–176, 179, 180,
182–183, 186, 188, 190–191, 195,
201, 203, 212, 214–215, 219–220,
224, 231, 234, 239, 266, 269, 271
Thonis/Thon 162–163
Thrace 150
Thracian 43, 117, 121, 229
throne, at Amyclae 43
throne, royal, literal 236, 251, 254,
258
throne, royal, metaphorical 26–27,
51, 63, 91, 95, 100, 227
Tmolus 232, 250
touchstone 249
tradition 1, 6, 10, 38, 43–44, 46,
50–51, 56, 77, 79, 87, 89, 91–92,
94–95, 97, 103, 105–106, 109,
112–115, 117, 120, 126, 129–130,
132, 135, 137–138, 143, 148, 166,
170–171, 188, 227, 228, 244–247,
252, 255, 257, 264–265, 268–269,
271–272, 274–276, 283
tripod 130, 246, 249, 270
Tritogeneia 160
Troy 101, 161, 163, 165, 184, 220,
227–228
truth 6, 15, 33–35, 50, 57–58, 92,
129, 159, 201, 220, 227, 240, 252,
264–265, 267–268, 274, 276
truthfulness 6
Tuite, Kenneth Michael 243–248,
250–251, 254–259, 261–262
tumour 178
Tyndaridae 132, 277–278, 280
Typho 230
tyranny 54–55, 57, 59, 64–65, 69,
208, 225

tyrant 10, 31, 41, 45, 50, 57, 59, 60,
64, 68–72, 154, 208, 237

Tyrrhenia 141, 151

Ubsdell, Simon 199

ulcer 178, 180–182

values, aristocratic 260

Vernant, Jean-Pierre 59–60, 64, 69,
71

West, Martin 170, 281

West, Stephanie 37, 39, 45, 74, 80,
84, 98–100, 104, 142–143, 149,
249

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich
von 44

wine 83–85, 89–91, 169, 187, 260

wonder (see also *thōma*, θῶμα,
marvel) 14, 95, 175, 181, 190–191,
228–230, 232, 234–236, 238, 240
of nature 230–234

workmanship 251, 260, 263

worms 47, 102, 134, 179–182

Xanthes 118

Xanthos 118

Xanthus of Lydia 126

Xenophon 158, 168

Xerxes 4–6, 11, 14, 16, 50, 58, 96,
138, 143, 146, 149–150, 152–153,
182–184, 187, 190, 204–205, 214–
215, 218, 229, 239, 283

Zeus 26, 44, 50, 53, 100–101, 148,
159–160, 162, 172, 278

Index of Greek terms

αἰτία 33, 199, 201, 218, 223, 244

ἄκοή 128, 147, 226, 235

ἀνεπισκέπτως 284

ἀξιοθέητος 246, 251–252, 254

Ἀσίη 140, 231, 237

βάσανος 249

γνώμη 56, 149, 203, 225, 227, 237,
264

Γυγάδας 251

δημιουργοί 224

δημοκρατία 55, 237

ἔργα 158, 161, 199, 203, 223, 243,
255–256, 263, 279

εὐπρεπής 163–164

Εὐρώπη 140, 231

θηρίον 180–182

θῶμα 14–15, 187, 224, 229, 233,
235, 237, 239–240

θαμάζειν/θαυμάζειν 223, 228, 231,
236, 238, 240–241

θωμάσιος 230

θωμαστός 199, 223, 236

ἰσόνομος 55

ἱστορέειν 127, 147, 223–228, 238,
240

ἱστορημένα 226

ἱστορίη, ἱστορία 1, 3, 223–228,
238–240, 244–246, 264, 267, 284

ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις 223–224, 244–
246

κλέος 244–246, 251, 263, 268,
277–278, 282, 284

λεγόμενα, τὰ 266–267, 283

λέξις εἰρομένη 248

Λιβύη 128, 144, 231

λογογράφος 223

λογοποιός 117, 149

λόγος 130, 164, 194, 224–227, 229,
231, 235, 244–246, 274–275, 283–
284

μεταβολή 182, 184, 186

μουσοποιός 118

μῦθος 230, 284

μυθῶδες 223

ὄψις 128, 225, 227, 264

σοφία, σοφίη 229, 240, 250

τέχνη 103, 228

ὔβρις 43

φλέγμα 192–193

χρηστήριον 27, 253

χρόνος 34, 191, 193, 223, 243–246,
255–256, 263, 267